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THE

HISTORY

OF

England,

FROM THE

INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR

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ac

TO THE

REVOLUTION IN 1688,

TT-a-1

BY

David Hume.

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MURDER OF EDWARD V. & OF THE DUKE OF YORK.

CHAP. XXIII.

EDWARD V. & RICHARD III.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

EDWARD V AND RICHARD III.

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EDWARD V.

STATE OF THE COURT. 1483.

DURING the latter years of Edward IV the nation, having in a great meaſure forgotten the bloody feuds between the two roſes, and peaceably acquieſcing in the eſtabliſhed government, was agitated only by ſome court intrigues, which, being reſtrained by the authority of the king, ſeemed nowiſe to endanger the public tranquillity. Theſe intrigues aroſe from the perpetual rivalſhip between two parties; one conſiſting of the queen and

her relations, particularly the earl of Rivers her brother and the marquis of Dorſet her ſon; the other compoſed of the ancient nobility, who envied the ſudden growth and unlimited credit of that aſpiring family.[x] At the head of this latter party was the duke of Buckingham, a man of very noble birth, of ample poſſeſſions, of great alliances, of ſhining parts; who, though he had married the queen's ſiſter, was too haughty to act in ſubſerviency to her inclinations, and aimed rather at maintaining an independent influence and authority. Lord Haſtings, the chamberlain, was another leader of the ſame party; and, as this nobleman had, by his bravery and activity, as well as by his approved fidelity, acquired the confidence and favour of his maſter, he had been able, though with ſome difficulty, to ſupport himſelf againſt the credit of the queen. The lords Howard and Stanley maintained a connexion with theſe two noblemen, and brought a conſiderable acceſſion of influence and reputation to their party. All the other barons, who had no particular dependance on the queen, adhered to the ſame intereſt; and the people in general, from their natural envy againſt the prevailing power, bore great favour to the cauſe of theſe noblemen.

But Edward knew that, though he himſelf had been able to overawe thoſe rival factions, many diſorders might ariſe from their conteſts during the minority of his ſon; and he therefore took care, in his laſt illneſs, to ſummon together ſeveral of the leaders on both ſides, and, by compoſing their ancient quarrels, to provide, as far as poſſible, for the future tranquillity of the government. After expreſſing his intentions that his brother the duke of Gloceſter, then abſent in the north, ſhould be intruſted with the regency, he recommended to them peace and unanimity during the tender years of his ſon; repreſented to them the dangers which muſt attend the continuance of their animoſities; and engaged them to embrace each other with al

the appearance of the moſt cordial reconciliation. But this temporary or feigned agreement laſted no longer than the king's life: he had no ſooner expired than the jealouſies of the parties broke out afreſh; and each of them applied, by ſeparate meſſages, to the duke of Gloceſter, and endeavoured to acquire his favour and friendſhip.

This prince, during his brother's reign, had endeavoured to live on good terms with both parties; and his high birth, his extenſive abilities, and his great ſervices, had enabled him to ſupport himſelf without falling into a dependance on either. But the new ſituation of affairs, when the ſupreme power was devolved upon him, immediately changed his meaſures; and he ſecretly determined to preſerve no longer that neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. His exorbitant ambition, unreſtrained by any principle either of juſtice or humanity, made him carry his views to the poſſeſſion of the crown itſelf; and, as this object could not be attained without the ruin of the queen and her family, he fell, without heſitation, into concert with the oppoſite party: but, being ſenſible that the moſt profound diſſimulation was requiſite for effecting his criminal purpoſes, he redoubled his profeſſions of zeal and attachment to that princeſs; and he gained ſuch credit with her as to influence her conduct in a point which, as it was of the utmoſt importance, was violently diſputed between the oppoſite factions.

The young king, at the time of his father's death, reſided in the caſtle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales; whither he had been ſent, that the influence of his preſence might overawe the Welſh, and reſtore the tranquillity of that country, which had been diſturbed by ſome late commotions. His perſon was committed to the care of his uncle the earl of Rivers, the moſt accompliſhed nobleman in England, who, having united an un-

common taſte for literature [y] to great abilities in buſineſs and valour in the field, was entitled, by his talents ſtill more than by nearneſs of blood, to direct the education of the young monarch. The queen, anxious to preſerve that aſcendant over her ſon which ſhe had long maintained over her huſband, wrote to the earl of Rivers that he ſhould levy a body of forces, in order to eſcort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The oppoſite faction, ſenſible that Edward was now of an age when great advantages could be made of his name and countenance, and was approaching to the age when he would be legally entitled to exert in perſon his authority, foreſaw that the tendency of this meaſure was to perpetuate their ſubjection under their rivals; and they vehemently oppoſed a reſolution which they repreſented as the ſignal for renewing a civil war in the kingdom. Lord Haſtings threatened to depart inſtantly to his government of Calais; [z] the other nobles ſeemed reſolute to oppoſe force by force; and, as the duke of Gloceſter, on pretence of pacifying the quarrel, had declared againſt all appearance of an armed power, which might be dangerous, and was nowiſe neceſſary, the queen, truſting to the ſincerity of his friendſhip, and overawed by ſo violent an oppoſition, recalled her orders to her brother, and deſired him to bring up no greater retinue than ſhould be neceſſary to ſupport the ſtate and dignity of the young ſovereign. [a]

EARL OF RIVERS ARRESTED.

The duke of Gloceſter, meanwhile, ſet out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. When he reached Northampton he was joined by the duke of Buckingham, who was alſo attended by a ſplendid retinue; and, as he heard that

the king was hourly expected on that road, he resolved to wait his arrival, under colour of conducting him thence in person to London. The earl of Rivers, apprehensive that the place would be too narrow to contain so many attendants, sent his pupil forward by another road to Stony Stratford; and came himself to Northampton, in order to apologize for this measure, and to pay his respects to the duke of Gloucester. He was received with the greatest appearance of cordiality; he passed the evening in an amicable manner with Gloucester and Buckingham; he proceeded on the road with them next day to join the king; but, as he was entering Stony Stratford, he was arrested by orders from the duke of Gloucester.[b] Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's sons, was at the same time put under a guard, together with sir Thomas Vaughan, who possessed a considerable office in the king's household; and all the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and endeavoured to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother. But Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.[c]

The people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations. But the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the duke of York.[d] She trusted that the ecclesiastical privileges, which had formerly, during the total ruin of her husband and family, given her protection against the fury of the Lancastrian

faction, would not now be violated by her brother-in-law while her ſon was on the throne; and ſhe reſolved to await there the return of better fortune. But Gloceſter, anxious to have the duke of York in his power, propoſed to take him by force from the ſanctuary; and he repreſented to the privy council both the indignity put upon the government by the queen's ill-grounded apprehenſions, and the neceſſity of the young prince's appearance at the enſuing coronation of his brother. It was farther urged that eccleſiaſtical privileges were originally intended only to give protection to unhappy men perſecuted for their debts or crimes; and were entirely uſeleſs to a perſon who, by reaſon of his tender age, could lie under the burden of neither, and who, for the ſame reaſon, was utterly incapable of claiming ſecurity from any ſanctuary. But, the two archbiſhops, cardinal Bouchier the primate, and Rotherham archbiſhop of York, proteſting againſt the ſacrilege of this meaſure, it was agreed that they ſhould firſt endeavour to bring the queen to compliance by perſuaſion, before any violence ſhould be employed againſt her. Theſe prelates were perſons of known integrity and honour; and, being themſelves entirely perſuaded of the duke's good intentions, they employed every argument, accompanied with earneſt entreaties, exhortations, and aſſurances, to bring her over to the ſame opinion. She long continued obſtinate; and inſiſted that the duke of York, by living in the ſanctuary, was not only ſecure himſelf, but gave ſecurity to the king, whoſe life no one would dare to attempt while his ſucceſſor and avenger remained in ſafety. But, finding that none ſupported her in theſe ſentiments, and that force, in caſe of refuſal, was threatened by the council, ſhe at laſt complied, and produced her ſon to the two prelates. She was here on a ſudden ſtruck with a kind of preſage of his future fate; ſhe tenderly embraced him; ſhe bedewed him with her tears; and, bidding him an eternal

D. OF YORK BROTHER TO ED. V. RESIGN'D BY THE QUEEN

adieu, delivered him, with many expreſſions of regret and reluctance, into their cuſtody.[e]

DUKE OF GLOCESTER PROTECTOR.

THE duke of Gloceſter, being the neareſt male of the royal family capable of exerciſing the government, ſeemed entitled, by the cuſtoms of the realm, to the office of protector; and the council, not waiting for the conſent of parliament, made no ſcruple of inveſting him with that high dignity.[f] The general prejudice entertained by the nobility againſt the queen and her kindred occaſioned this precipitation and irregularity; and no one foreſaw any danger to the ſucceſſion, much leſs to the lives of the young princes, from a meaſure ſo obvious and ſo natural. Beſides that the duke had hitherto been able to cover, by the moſt profound diſſimulation, his fierce and ſavage nature, the numerous iſſue of Edward, together with the two children of Clarence, ſeemed to be an eternal obſtacle to his ambition; and it appeared equally impracticable for him to deſtroy ſo many perſons poſſeſſed of a preferable title, and imprudent to exclude them. But a man who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity was ſoon carried by his predominant paſſion beyond the reach of fear or precaution; and Gloceſter, having ſo far ſucceeded in his views, no longer heſitated in removing the other obſtructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of the earl of Rivers, and of the other priſoners detained in Pomfret, was firſt determined; and he eaſily obtained the conſent of the duke of Buckingham, as well as of lord Haſtings, to this violent and ſanguinary meaſure. However eaſy it was in thoſe times to procure a ſentence againſt the moſt innocent perſon, it appeared ſtill more eaſy to diſpatch an enemy without any trial or form of proceſs; and orders were accordingly iſſued

to ſir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper inſtrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the priſoners. The protector then aſſailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of ſwaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but intereſt and ambition. He repreſented that the execution of perſons ſo nearly related to the king, whom that prince ſo openly profeſſed to love, and whoſe fate he ſo much reſented, would never paſs unpuniſhed; and all the actors in that ſcene were bound in prudence to prevent the effects of his future vengeance: that it would be impoſſible to keep the queen for ever at a diſtance from her ſon, and equally impoſſible to prevent her from inſtilling into his tender mind the thoughts of retaliating, by like executions, the ſanguinary inſults committed on her family: that the only method of obviating theſe miſchiefs was to put the ſceptre in the hands of a man of whoſe friendſhip the duke might be aſſured, and whoſe years and experience taught him to pay reſpect to merit, and to the rights of ancient nobility: and that the ſame neceſſity, which had carried them ſo far in reſiſting the uſurpation of theſe intruders, muſt juſtify them in attempting farther innovations, and in making, by national conſent, a new ſettlement of the ſucceſſion. To theſe reaſons he added the offers of great private advantages to the duke of Buckingham; and he eaſily obtained from him a promiſe of ſupporting him in all his enterpriſes.

EXECUTION OF LORD HASTINGS.

The duke of Gloceſter, knowing the importance of gaining lord Haſtings, ſounded at a diſtance his ſentiments, by means of Cateſby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with

his friendſhip.[g] He ſaw, therefore, that there were no longer any meaſures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he deſpaired of engaging to concur in his uſurpation. On the very day when Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, were executed, or rather murdered, at Pomfret, by the advice of Haſtings, the protector ſummoned a council in the tower; whither that nobleman, ſuſpecting no deſign againſt him, repaired without heſitation. The duke of Gloceſter was capable of committing the moſt bloody and treacherous murders with the utmoſt coolneſs and indifference. On taking his place at the council table, he appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt jovial humour imaginable. He ſeemed to indulge himſelf in familiar converſation with the counſellors before they ſhould enter on buſineſs; and, having paid ſome compliments to Morton biſhop of Ely on the good and early ſtrawberries which he raiſed in his garden at Holborn, he begged the favour of having a diſh of them, which that prelate immediately diſpatched a ſervant to bring to him. The protector then left the council, as if called away by ſome other buſineſs; but, ſoon after returning, with an angry and inflamed countenance, he aſked them what puniſhment thoſe deſerved that had plotted againſt his life, who was ſo nearly related to the king, and was intruſted with the adminiſtration of government. Haſtings replied that they merited the puniſhment of traitors. 'Theſe traitors,' cried the protector, 'are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates: ſee to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft.' Upon which he laid bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. But the counſellors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all lord Haſtings, who, as he had ſince Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore,[h] was naturally anxious concerning the iſſue of

theſe extraordinary proceedings. 'Certainly, my lord,' ſaid he, 'if they be guilty of theſe crimes, they deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment.' 'And do you reply to me,' exclaimed the protector, 'with your ifs and your ands? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore: you are yourſelf a traitor: and I ſwear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought me.' He ſtruck the table with his hand; armed men ruſhed in at the ſignal; the counſellors were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; and one of the guards, as if by accident or miſtake, aimed a blow with a poll-axe at lord Stanley, who, aware of the danger, ſlunk under the table, and, though he ſaved his life, received a ſevere wound in the head in the protector's preſence. Haſtings was ſeized, was hurried away, and inſtantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the tower.[i] Two hours after a proclamation, well penned and fairly written, was read to the citizens of London, enumerating his offences, and apologizing to them, from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery, for the ſudden execution of that nobleman, who was very popular among them. But the ſaying of a merchant was much talked of on the occaſion, who remarked that the proclamation was certainly drawn by the ſpirit of prophecy.[k]

Lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and other counſellors, were committed priſoners in different chambers of the tower: and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accuſations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized; and he ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. But, as no proofs which could be received, even in that ignorant age, were produced againſt her, he directed her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for her adulteries and lewdneſs; and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's before the whole people. This lady was born of reputable parents in London, was well educated, and married to

a ſubſtantial citizen; but unhappily views of intereſt, more than the maid's inclinations, had been conſulted in the match, and her mind, though framed for virtue, had proved unable to reſiſt the allurements of Edward, who ſolicited her favours: but, while ſeduced from her duty by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill made herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues; and the aſcendant which her charms and vivacity long maintained over him was all employed in acts of beneficence and humanity. She was ſtill forward to oppoſe calumny, to protect the oppreſſed, to relieve the indigent; and her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, never waited the ſolicitation of preſents, or the hopes of reciprocal ſervices. But ſhe lived not only to feel the bitterneſs of ſhame, impoſed on her by this tyrant, but to experience, in old age and poverty, the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers who had long ſolicited her friendſhip, and been protected by her credit. No one, among the great multitudes whom ſhe had obliged, had the humanity to bring her conſolation or relief; ſhe languiſhed out her life in ſolitude and indigence; and, amidſt a court inured to the moſt atrocious crimes, the frailties of this woman juſtified all violations of friendſhip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations.

THE PROTECTOR AIMS AT THE CROWN.

These acts of violence, exerciſed againſt all the neareſt connexions of the late king, prognoſticated the ſevereſt fate to his defenceleſs children; and, after the murder of Haſtings, the protector no longer made a ſecret of his intentions to uſurp the crown. The licentious life of Edward, who was not reſtrained in his pleaſures either by honour or prudence, afforded a pretence for declaring his marriage with the queen invalid, and all his poſterity illegitimate. It was aſſerted that, before eſpouſing

the lady Elizabeth Gray, he had paid court to the lady Eleanor Talbot, daughter of the earl of Shrewſbury; and, being repulſed by the virtue of that lady, he was obliged, ere he could gratify his deſires, to conſent to a private marriage, without any witneſſes, by Stillington biſhop of Bath, who afterwards divulged the ſecret.[1] It was alſo maintained that the act of attainder, paſſed againſt the duke of Clarence, had virtually incapacitated his children from ſucceeding to the crown; and, theſe two families being ſet aſide, the protector remained the only true and legitimate heir of the houſe of York. But, as it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to prove the preceding marriage of the late king; and as the rule, which excludes the heirs of an attainted blood from private ſucceſſions, was never extended to the crown; the protector reſolved to make uſe of another plea, ſtill more ſhameful and ſcandalous. His partiſans were taught to maintain that both Edward IV and the duke of Clarence were illegitimate; that the ducheſs of York had received different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of theſe children; that their reſemblance to thoſe gallants was a ſufficient proof of their ſpurious birth; and that the duke of Gloceſter alone, of all her ſons, appeared by his features and countenance to be the true offspring of the duke of York. Nothing can be imagined more impudent than this aſſertion, which threw ſo foul an imputation on his own mother, a princeſs of irreproachable virtue, and then alive; yet the place choſen for firſt promulgating it was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in the protector's preſence. Dr. Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's on the twenty-ſecond of June; and, having choſen this paſſage for his text, 'Baſtard ſlips ſhall not thrive,' he enlarged on all the topics which could diſcredit the birth of Edward IV, the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the duke of Gloceſter; and exclaimed 'Be-

hold this excellent prince, the expreſs image of his noble father, the genuine deſcendant of the houſe of York; bearing, no leſs in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite: he alone is entitled to your allegiance; he muſt deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can reſtore the loſt glory and honour of the nation.' It was previouſly concerted that, as the doctor ſhould pronounce theſe words, the duke of Gloceſter ſhould enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out 'God ſave king Richard!' which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular conſent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation: but by a ridiculous miſtake, worthy of the whole ſcene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was therefore obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place; the audience, leſs from the abſurd conduct of the diſcourſe than from their deteſtation of theſe proceedings, kept a profound ſilence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abaſhed at the ill ſucceſs of their ſtratagem.

But the duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpoſe. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to doctor Shaw, and entirely in the protector's intereſts, called an aſſembly of the citizens; where the duke of Buckingham, who poſſeſſed ſome talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and diſplayed thoſe numerous virtues of which he pretended that prince was poſſeſſed. He next aſked them whether they would have the duke for king; and then ſtopped, in expectation of hearing the cry 'God ſave king Richard!' He was ſurpriſed to obſerve them ſilent; and, turning about to the mayor, aſked him the reaſon. The mayor replied

that perhaps they did not underſtand him. Buckingham then repeated his diſcourſe with ſome variation, enforced the ſame topics, aſked the ſame queſtion, and was received with the ſame ſilence. 'I now ſee the cauſe,' ſaid the mayor; 'the citizens are not accuſtomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to anſwer a perſon of your grace's quality.' The recorder, Fitz-Williams, was then commanded to repeat the ſubſtance of the duke's ſpeech; but the man, who was averſe to the office, took care, throughout his whole diſcourſe, to have it underſtood that he ſpoke nothing of himſelf, and that he only conveyed to them the ſenſe of the duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound ſilence. 'This is wonderful obſtinacy,' cried the duke; 'expreſs your meaning, my friends, one way or other; when we apply to you on this occaſion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have ſufficient authority, without your conſent, to appoint a king: but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloceſter for your ſovereign.' After all theſe efforts ſome of the meaneſt apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buckingham's ſervants, raiſed a feeble cry,[m] 'God ſave king Richard!' The ſentiments of the nation were now ſufficiently declared; the voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, haſtened to Baynard's caſtle, where the protector then reſided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

THE PROTECTOR ASSUMES THE THRONE.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court he refuſed to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety: a circumſtance taken notice of by Buckingham, who obſerved to the citizens that the prince was igno-

rant of the whole deſign. At laſt he was perſuaded to ſtep forth, but he ſtill kept at ſome diſtance; and he aſked the meaning of their intruſion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was reſolved to have him for king. The protector declared his purpoſe of maintaining his loyalty to the preſent ſovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the ſame reſolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and, if he rejected their unanimous voice, they muſt look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be reſiſted; he was prevailed on to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful ſovereign.

MURDER OF EDWARD V AND THE DUKE OF YORK.

This ridiculous farce was ſoon after followed by a ſcene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to ſir Robert Brakenbury, conſtable of the tower, to put his nephews to death: but this gentleman, who had ſentiments of honour, refuſed to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then ſent for ſir James Tyrrel, who promiſed obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to reſign to this gentleman the keys and government of the tower for one night. Tyrrel, chooſing three aſſociates, Slater, Dighton, and Foreſt, came in the night time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and, ſending in the aſſaſſins, he bade them execute their commiſſion while he himſelf ſtaid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound ſleep. After ſuffocating them with the bolſter and pillows, they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of ſtones.[n] Theſe circumſtances were all confeſſed by the actors in the following

reign, and they were never puniſhed for the crime; probably becauſe Henry, whoſe maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, deſired to eſtabliſh it as a principle, that the commands of the reigning ſovereign ought to juſtify every enormity in thoſe who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumſtance not ſo eaſy to be accounted for: it is pretended that Richard, diſpleaſed with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in conſecrated ground; and, as the man died ſoon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any ſearch which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II, when there was occaſion to remove ſome ſtones, and to dig in the very ſpot which was mentioned as the place of their firſt interment, the bones of two perſons were there found, which by their ſize exactly correſponded to the age of Edward and his brother: they were concluded with certainty to be the remains of thoſe princes, and were interred under a marble monument by orders of king Charles.° Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his maſter's commands; and, the bodies being ſuppoſed to be already removed, a diligent ſearch was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.

THE QUEEN DOWAGER PUTTING HERSELF & DAUGHTERS UNDER THE PROTECTION OF RICHARD III.

RICHARD III.

CHAP. XXIII CONTINUED.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM DISCONTENTED. THE EARL OF RICHMOND. BUCKINGHAM EXECUTED. INVASION BY THE EARL OF RICHMOND. BATTLE OF BOSWORTH. DEATH AND CHARACTER OF RICHARD THE THIRD.

RICHARD III.

1483.

THE firſt acts of Richard's adminiſtration were to beſtow rewards on thoſe who had aſſiſted him in uſurping the crown, and to gain by favours thoſe who he thought were beſt able to ſupport his future government. Thomas lord Howard was created duke of Norfolk; ſir Thomas Howard his ſon earl of Surrey; lord Lovel a viſcount by the ſame name; even lord Stanley was ſet at liberty, and made ſteward of the houſehold. This nobleman had become obnoxious by his firſt oppoſition to Richard's views, and alſo by his marrying the counteſs dowager of Richmond, heir of the Somerſet family; but, ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſubmitting to the preſent government, he feigned ſuch zeal for Richard's ſervice that he was received into favour, and even found means to be intruſted with the moſt important commands by that politic and jealous tyrant.

But the perſon who, both from the greatneſs of his ſervices and the power and ſplendour of his family, was beſt entitled to favours under the new government, was the duke of Buckingham; and Richard ſeemed determined to ſpare no pains or bounty in ſecuring him to his intereſts. Buckingham was deſcended from a daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock duke of Gloceſter, uncle to Richard II; and by this pedigree he not only was allied to the royal family, but had claims for dignities as well as eſtates of a very extenſive nature. The duke of Gloceſter and Henry earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV, had married the two daughters and coheirs of Bohun earl of Hereford, one of

the greateſt of the ancient barons, whoſe immenſe property came thus to be divided into two ſhares. One was inherited by the family of Buckingham; the other was united to the crown by the houſe of Lancaſter, and, after the attainder of that royal line, was ſeized as legally devolved to them by the ſovereigns of the houſe of York. The duke of Buckingham laid hold of the preſent opportunity, and claimed the reſtitution of that portion of the Hereford eſtate which had eſcheated to the crown, as well as of the great office of conſtable, which had long continued by inheritance in his anceſtors of that family. Richard readily complied with theſe demands, which were probably the price ſtipulated to Buckingham for his aſſiſtance in promoting the uſurpation. That nobleman was inveſted with the office of conſtable; he received a grant of the eſtate of Hereford;[P] many other dignities and honours were conferred upon him; and the king thought himſelf ſure of preſerving the fidelity of a man whoſe intereſt ſeemed ſo cloſely connected with thoſe of the preſent government.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM DISCONTENTED.

But it was impoſſible that friendſhip could long remain inviolate between two men of ſuch corrupt minds as Richard and the duke of Buckingham. Hiſtorians aſcribe their firſt rupture to the king's refuſal of making reſtitution of the Hereford eſtate; but it is certain, from records, that he paſſed a grant for that purpoſe, and that the full demands of Buckingham were ſatisfied in this particular. Perhaps Richard was ſoon ſenſible of the danger which might enſue from conferring ſuch an immenſe property on a man of ſo turbulent a diſpoſition, and afterwards raiſed difficulties about the execution of his own grant; perhaps he refuſed ſome other demands of Buckingham, whom he found

it impoſſible to gratify for his paſt ſervices; perhaps he reſolved, according to the uſual maxim of politicians, to ſeize the firſt opportunity of ruining this powerful ſubject, who had been the principal inſtrument of his own elevation; and the diſcovery of this intention begat the firſt diſcontent in the duke of Buckingham. However this may be, it is certain that the duke, ſoon after Richard's acceſſion, began to form a conſpiracy againſt the government, and attempted to overthrow that uſurpation which he himſelf had ſo zealouſly contributed to eſtabliſh.

Never was there in any country an uſurpation more flagrant than that of Richard, or more repugnant to every principle of juſtice and public intereſt. His claim was entirely founded on impudent allegations, never attempted to be proved, ſome of them incapable of proof, and all of them implying ſcandalous reflections on his own family, and on the perſons with whom he was the moſt nearly connected. His title was never acknowledged by any national aſſembly, ſcarcely even by the loweſt populace to whom he appealed; and it had become prevalent merely for want of ſome perſon of diſtinction who might ſtand forth againſt him, and give a voice to thoſe ſentiments of general deteſtation which aroſe in every boſom. Were men diſpoſed to pardon theſe violations of public right, the ſenſe of private and domeſtic duty, which is not to be effaced in the moſt barbarous times, muſt have begotten an abhorrence againſt him, and have repreſented the murder of the young and innocent princes, his nephews, with whoſe protection he had been intruſted, in the moſt odious colours imaginable. To endure ſuch a bloody uſurper ſeemed to draw diſgrace upon the nation, and to be attended with immediate danger to every individual who was diſtinguiſhed by birth, merit, or ſervices. Such was become the general voice of the people; all parties were united in the ſame ſentiments; and the Lancaſtrians, ſo long oppreſſed, and

of late ſo much diſcredited, felt their blaſted hopes again revive, and anxiouſly expected the conſequences of theſe extraordinary events. The duke of Buckingham, whoſe family had been devoted to that intereſt, and who by his mother, a daughter of Edmund duke of Somerſet, was allied to the houſe of Lancaſter, was eaſily induced to eſpouſe the cauſe of this party, and to endeavour the reſtoring of it to its ancient ſuperiority. Morton biſhop of Ely, a zealous Lancaſtrian, whom the king had impriſoned, and had afterwards committed to the cuſtody of Buckingham, encouraged theſe ſentiments; and by his exhortations the duke caſt his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, as the only perſon who could free the nation from the tyranny of the preſent uſurper.[q]

THE EARL OF RICHMOND.

HENRY earl of Richmond was at this time detained in a kind of honourable cuſtody by the duke of Brittany; and his deſcent, which ſeemed to give him ſome pretenſions to the crown, had been a great object of jealouſy both in the late and in the preſent reign. John the firſt duke of Somerſet, who was grandſon of John of Gaunt by a ſpurious branch, but legitimated by act of parliament, had left only one daughter, Margaret; and his younger brother Edmund had ſucceeded him in his titles, and in a conſiderable part of his fortune. Margaret had eſpouſed Edmund earl of Richmond, half brother of Henry VI, and ſon of ſir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V; and ſhe bore him only one ſon, who received the name of Henry, and who after his father's death inherited the honours and fortune of Richmond. His mother, being a widow, had eſpouſed, in ſecond marriage, ſir Henry Stafford, uncle to Buckingham; and, after the death of that gentleman, had married lord Stan-

ley; but had no children by either of theſe huſbands; and her ſon Henry was thus, in the event of her death, the ſole heir of all her fortunes. But this was not the moſt conſiderable advantage which he had reaſon to expect from her ſucceſſion: he would repreſent the elder branch of the houſe of Somerſet; he would inherit all the title of that family to the crown; and, though its claim, while any legitimate branch ſubſiſted of the houſe of Lancaſter, had always been much diſregarded, the zeal of faction, after the death of Henry VI and the murder of prince Edward, immediately conferred a weight and conſideration upon it.

Edward IV, finding that all the Lancaſtrians had turned their attention towards the young earl of Richmond as the object of their hopes, thought him alſo worthy of his attention; and purſued him into his retreat in Brittany, whither his uncle the earl of Pembroke had carried him after the battle of Teukeſbury, ſo fatal to his party. He applied to Francis II, duke of Brittany, who was his ally; a weak, but a good prince; and urged him to deliver up this fugitive, who might be the ſource of future diſturbances in England: but the duke, averſe to ſo diſhonourable a propoſal, would only conſent that, for the ſecurity of Edward, the young nobleman ſhould be detained in cuſtody; and he received an annual penſion from England for the ſafe keeping or the ſubſiſtence of his priſoner. But, towards the end of Edward's reign, when the kingdom was menaced with a war both from France and Scotland, the anxieties of the Engliſh court with regard to Henry were much increaſed; and Edward made a new propoſal to the duke, which covered, under the faireſt appearances, the moſt bloody and treacherous intentions. He pretended that he was deſirous of gaining his enemy, and of uniting him to his own family by a marriage with his daughter Elizabeth; and he ſolicited to have him ſent over to England.

in order to execute a ſcheme which would redound ſo much to his advantage. Theſe pretences, ſeconded as is ſuppoſed by bribes to Peter Landais, a corrupt miniſter, by whom the duke was entirely governed, gained credit with the court of Brittany; Henry was delivered into the hands of the Engliſh agents; he was ready to embark; when a ſuſpicion of Edward's real deſign was ſuggeſted to the duke, who recalled his orders, and thus ſaved the unhappy youth from the imminent danger which hung over him.

Theſe ſymptoms of continued jealouſy in the reigning family of England both ſeemed to give ſome authority to Henry's pretenſions, and made him the object of general favour and compaſſion, on account of the dangers and perſecutions to which he was expoſed. The univerſal deteſtation of Richard's conduct turned ſtill more the attention of the nation towards Henry; and, as all the deſcendants of the houſe of York were either women or minors, he ſeemed to be the only perſon from whom the nation could expect the expulſion of the odious and bloody tyrant. But, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, which were ſo favourable to him, Buckingham and the biſhop of Ely well knew that there would ſtill lie many obſtacles in his way to the throne; and that, though the nation had been much divided between Henry VI and the duke of York, while preſent poſſeſſion and hereditary right ſtood in oppoſition to each other, yet, as ſoon as theſe titles were united in Edward IV, the bulk of the people had come over to the reigning family; and the Lancaſtrians had extremely decayed, both in numbers and in authority. It was therefore ſuggeſted by Morton, and readily aſſented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the preſent uſurpation was to unite the oppoſite factions, by contracting a marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of king Edward, and thereby blending to-

gether the oppoſite pretenſions of their families, which had ſo long been the ſource of public diſorders and convulſions. They were ſenſible that the people were extremely deſirous of repoſe after ſo many bloody and deſtructive commotions; that both Yorkiſts and Lancaſtrians, who now lay equally under oppreſſion, would embrace this ſcheme with ardour; and that the proſpect of reconciling the two parties, which was in itſelf ſo deſirable an end, would, when added to the general hatred againſt the preſent government, render their cauſe abſolutely invincible. In conſequence of theſe views the prelate, by means of Reginald Bray, ſteward to the counteſs of Richmond, firſt opened the project of ſuch an union to that lady; and the plan appeared ſo advantageous for her ſon, and at the ſame time ſo likely to ſucceed, that it admitted not of the leaſt heſitation. Dr. Lewis, a Welſh phyſician, who had acceſs to the queen-dowager in her ſanctuary, carried the propoſals to her; and found that revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three ſons, apprehenſions for her ſurviving family, and indignation againſt her confinement, eaſily overcame all her prejudices againſt the houſe of Lancaſter, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the preſent ſituation of the parties, ſeemed ſo naturally to invite them. She ſecretly borrowed a ſum of money in the city, ſent it over to the earl of Richmond, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in England, adviſed him to levy as many foreign forces as poſſible, and promiſed to join him on his firſt appearance with all the friends and partiſans of her family.

EXECUTION OF BUCKINGHAM.

THE plan being thus laid upon the ſolid foundations of good ſenſe and ſound policy, it was ſecretly communicated to the

principal perſons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its ſucceſs and completion. But it was impoſſible that ſo extenſive a conſpiracy could be conducted in ſo ſecret a manner as entirely to eſcape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard; and he ſoon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming ſome deſign againſt his authority. He immediately put himſelf in a poſture of defence by levying troops in the north; and he ſummoned the duke to appear at court, in ſuch terms as ſeemed to promiſe him a renewal of their former amity. But that nobleman, well acquainted with the barbarity and treachery of Richard, replied only by taking arms in Wales, and giving the ſignal to his accomplices for a general inſurrection in all parts of England. But at that very time there happened to fall ſuch heavy rains, ſo inceſſant and continued, as exceeded any known in the memory of man; and the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighbourhood, ſwelled to a height which rendered them impaſſable, and prevented Buckingham from marching into the heart of England to join his aſſociates. The Welſhmen, partly moved by ſuperſtition at this extraordinary event, partly diſtreſſed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himſelf deſerted by his followers, put on a diſguiſe, and took ſhelter in the houſe of Banniſter, an old ſervant of his family: but, being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Saliſbury; and was inſtantly executed, according to the ſummary method practiſed in that age.[r] The other conſpirators, who took arms in four different places, at Exeter, at Saliſbury, at Newbury, and at Maidſtone, hearing of the duke of Buckingham's misfortunes, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and immediately diſperſed themſelves.

The marquis of Dorſet and the biſhop of Ely made their eſcape beyond ſea; many others were equally fortunate; ſeveral fell into Richard's hands, of whom he made ſome examples. His executions ſeem not to have been remarkably ſevere; though we are told of one gentleman, William Colingbourne, who ſuffered under colour of this rebellion, but in reality for a diſtich of quibbling verſes which he had compoſed againſt Richard and his miniſters.[s] The earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had ſet ſail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of five thouſand men, levied in foreign parts; but, his fleet being at firſt driven back by a ſtorm, he appeared not on the coaſt of England till after the diſperſion of all his friends; and he found himſelf obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

The king, every where triumphant, and fortified by this unſucceſsful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at laſt to ſummon a parliament; a meaſure which his crimes and flagrant uſurpation had induced him hitherto to decline. Though it was natural that the parliament, in a conteſt of national parties, ſhould always adhere to the victor, he ſeems to have apprehended leſt his title, founded on no principle and ſupported by no party, might be rejected by that aſſembly. But, his enemies being now at his feet, the parliament had no choice left but to recogniſe his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His only ſon Edward, then a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales; the duties of tonnage and poundage were granted to the king for life; and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, paſſed ſome popular laws, particularly one againſt the late practice of extorting money on pretence of benevolence.

All the other meaſures of the king tended to the ſame object. Senſible that the only circumſtance which could give him ſecurity was to gain the confidence of the Yorkiſts, he paid court

to the queen-dowager with ſuch art and addreſs, made ſuch earneſt proteſtations of his ſincere good-will and friendſhip, that this princeſs, tired of confinement, and deſpairing of any ſucceſs from her former projects, ventured to leave her ſanctuary, and to put herſelf and her daughters into the hands of the tyrant. But he ſoon carried farther his views for the eſtabliſhment of his throne. He had married Anne the ſecond daughter of the earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward prince of Wales, whom Richard himſelf had murdered; but, this princeſs having born him but one ſon, who died about this time, he conſidered her as an invincible obſtacle to the ſettlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poiſon; a crime for which the public could not be ſuppoſed to have any ſolid proof, but which the uſual tenor of his conduct made it reaſonable to ſuſpect. He now thought it in his power to remove the chief perils which threatened his government. The earl of Richmond, he knew, could never be formidable but from his projected marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heir of the crown; and he therefore intended, by means of a papal diſpenſation, to eſpouſe, himſelf, this princeſs, and thus to unite in his own family their contending titles. The queen-dowager, eager to recover her loſt authority, neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and was regarded as inceſtuous; nor felt any horror at marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons and of her brother: ſhe even joined ſo far her intereſts with thoſe of the uſurper, that ſhe wrote to all her partiſans, and, among the reſt, to her ſon the marquis of Dorſet, deſiring them to withdraw from the earl of Richmond; an injury which the earl could never afterwards forgive. The court of Rome was applied to for a diſpenſation. Richard thought that he could eaſily defend himſelf, during the interval, till it arrived; and he had afterwards the agreeable

proſpect of a full and ſecure ſettlement. He flattered himſelf that the Engliſh nation, ſeeing all danger removed of a diſputed ſucceſſion, would then acquieſce under the dominion of a prince who was of mature years, of great abilities, and of a genius qualified for government; and that they would forgive him all the crimes which he had committed in paving his way to the throne.

But the crimes of Richard were ſo horrid, and ſo ſhocking to humanity, that the natural ſentiments of men, without any political or public views, were ſufficient to render his government unſtable; and every perſon of probity and honour was earneſt to prevent the ſceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithleſs hand which held it. All the exiles flocked to the earl of Richmond in Brittany, and exhorted him to haſten his attempt for a new invaſion, and to prevent the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth, which muſt prove fatal to all his hopes. The earl, ſenſible of the urgent neceſſity, but dreading the treachery of Peter Landais, who had entered into a negociation with Richard for betraying him, was obliged to attend only to his preſent ſafety; and he made his eſcape to the court of France. The miniſters of Charles VIII, who had now ſucceeded to the throne after the death of his father Lewis, gave him countenance and protection; and, being deſirous of raiſing diſturbance to Richard, they ſecretly encouraged the earl in the levies which he made for the ſupport of his enterpriſe upon England. The earl of Oxford, whom Richard's ſuſpicions had thrown into confinement, having made his eſcape, here joined Henry; and inflamed his ardour for the attempt by the favourable accounts which he brought of the diſpoſitions of the Engliſh nation, and their univerſal hatred of Richard's crimes and uſurpation.

INVASION BY THE EARL OF RICHMOND. 1485.

THE earl of Richmond ſet ſail from Harfleur in Normandy with a ſmall army of about two thouſand men; and, after a navigation of ſix days, he arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, on the ſeventh of Auguſt, where he landed without oppoſition. He directed his courſe to that part of the kingdom in hopes that the Welſh, who regarded him as their countryman, and who had been already prepoſſeſſed in favour of his cauſe by means of the duke of Buckingham, muſt join his ſtandard, and enable him to make head againſt the eſtabliſhed government. Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken poſt at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom; and, having given commiſſions to different perſons in the ſeveral counties, whom he empowered to oppoſe his enemy, he purpoſed in perſon to fly on the firſt alarm to the place expoſed to danger. Sir Rice ap Thomas and ſir Walter Herbert were intruſted with his authority in Wales; but the former immediately deſerted to Henry; the ſecond made but feeble oppoſition to him; and the earl, advancing towards Shrewſbury, received every day ſome reinforcement from his partiſans. Sir Gilbert Talbot joined him with all the vaſſals and retainers of the family of Shrewſbury; ſir Thomas Bouchier and ſir Walter Hungerford brought their friends to ſhare his fortunes; and the appearance of men of diſtinction in his camp made already his cauſe wear a favourable aſpect.

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

BUT the danger, to which Richard was chiefly expoſed, proceeded not ſo much from the zeal of his open enemies as

BATTLE OF BOSWORTH FIELD.

from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman of diſtinction was ſincerely attached to his cauſe, except the duke of Norfolk; and all thoſe who feigned the moſt loyalty were only watching for an opportunity to betray and deſert him. But the perſons of whom he entertained the greateſt ſuſpicion were lord Stanley and his brother ſir William, whoſe connexions with the family of Richmond, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of attachment to his perſon, were never entirely forgotten or overlooked by him. When he empowered lord Stanley to levy forces he ſtill retained his eldeſt ſon, lord Strange, as a pledge for his fidelity; and that nobleman was, on this account, obliged to employ great caution and reſerve in his proceedings. He raiſed a powerful body of his friends and retainers in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire, but without openly declaring himſelf; and, though Henry had received ſecret aſſurances of his friendly intentions, the armies on both ſides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour. The two rivals at laſt approached each other at Boſworth, near Leiceſter; Henry at the head of ſix thouſand men, Richard with an army of above double the number; and a deciſive action was every hour expected between them. Stanley, who commanded above ſeven thouſand men, took care to poſt himſelf at Atherſtone, not far from the hoſtile camps; and he made ſuch a diſpoſition as enabled him on occaſion to join either party. Richard had too much ſagacity not to diſcover his intentions from thoſe movements; but he kept the ſecret from his own men for fear of diſcouraging them. He took not immediate revenge on Stanley's ſon, as ſome of his courtiers adviſed him, becauſe he hoped that ſo valuable a pledge would induce the father to prolong ſtill farther his ambiguous conduct; and he haſtened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor, being certain that a victory over the earl of Rich-

mond would enable him to take ample revenge on all his enemies, open and concealed.

DEATH OF RICHARD III.

The van of Richmond's army, conſiſting of archers, was commanded by the earl of Oxford; ſir Gilbert Talbot led the right wing; ſir John Savage the left; the earl himſelf, accompanied by his uncle the earl of Pembroke, placed himſelf in the main body. Richard alſo took poſt in his main body, and intruſted the command of his van to the duke of Norfolk. As his wings were never engaged, we have not learned the names of the ſeveral commanders. Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley, whoſe conduct in this whole affair diſcovers great precaution and abilities, appeared in the field, and declared for the earl of Richmond. This meaſure, which was unexpected to the men, though not to their leaders, had a proportional effect on both armies; it inſpired unuſual courage into Henry's ſoldiers, it threw Richard's into diſmay and confuſion. The intrepid tyrant, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, caſt his eye around the field, and, deſcrying his rival at no great diſtance, he drove againſt him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death or his own would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands ſir William Brandon, ſtandard-bearer to the earl; he diſmounted ſir John Cheyney; he was now within reach of Richmond himſelf, who declined not the combat; when ſir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the laſt moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and periſhed by a fate too mild and honourable for his multiplied and deteſtable enormities. His men every where fought for ſafety by flight.

There fell in this battle about four thouſand of the vanquiſhed; and among theſe the duke of Norfolk, lord Ferrars of Chartley, ſir Richard Ratcliffe, ſir Robert Piercy, and ſir Robert Brackenbury. The loſs was inconſiderable on the ſide of the victors. Sir William Cateſby, a great inſtrument of Richard's crimes, was taken, and ſoon after beheaded, with ſome others, at Leiceſter. The body of Richard was found in the field covered with dead enemies, and all beſmeared with blood; it was thrown careleſsly acroſs a horſe; was carried to Leiceſter amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting ſpectators, and was interred in the Gray Friars church of that place.

CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

The hiſtorians who favour Richard (for even this tyrant has met with partiſans among the later writers) maintain that he was well qualified for government, had he legally obtained it; and that he committed no crimes but ſuch as were neceſſary to procure him poſſeſſion of the crown. But this is a poor apology when it is confeſſed that he was ready to commit the moſt horrid crimes which appeared neceſſary for that purpoſe; and it is certain that all his courage and capacity, qualities in which he really ſeems not to have been deficient, would never have made compenſation to the people for the danger of the precedent, and for the contagious example of vice and murder exalted upon the throne. This prince was of a ſmall ſtature, hump-backed, and had a harſh diſagreeable countenance; ſo that his body was in every particular no leſs deformed than his mind.

Thus have we purſued the hiſtory of England through a ſeries of many barbarous ages; till we have at laſt reached the dawn of civility and ſcience, and have the proſpect both of greater certainty in our hiſtorical narrations, and of being able to preſent to the reader a ſpectacle more worthy of his attention. The want of certainty, however, and of circumſtances, is not alike to be complained of throughout every period of this long narration: this iſland poſſeſſes many ancient hiſtorians of good credit, as well as many hiſtorical monuments; and it is rare that the annals of ſo uncultivated a people, as were the Engliſh as well as the other European nations after the decline of Roman learning, have been tranſmitted to poſterity ſo complete, and with ſo little mixture of falſehood and of fable. This advantage we owe entirely to the clergy of the church of Rome; who, founding their authority on their ſuperior knowledge, preſerved the precious literature of antiquity from a total extinction; and, under ſhelter of their numerous privileges and immunities, acquired a ſecurity by means of the ſuperſtition, which they would in vain have claimed from the juſtice and humanity, of thoſe turbulent and licentious ages. Nor is the ſpectacle altogether unentertaining and uninſtructive which the hiſtory of thoſe times preſents to us. The view of human manners, in all their variety of appearances, is both profitable and agreeable; and, if the aſpect in ſome periods ſeem horrid and deformed, we may thence learn to cheriſh with the greater anxiety that ſcience and civility which has ſo cloſe a connexion with virtue and humanity, and which, as it is a ſovereign antidote againſt ſuperſtition, is alſo the moſt effectual remedy againſt vice and diſorders of every kind.

The riſe, progreſs, perfection, and decline, of art and ſcience, are curious objects of contemplation, and intimately connected with a narration of civil tranſactions. The events of no parti-

cular period can be fully accounted for but by conſidering the degrees of advancement which men have reached in thoſe particulars.

Thoſe, who caſt their eye on the general revolutions of ſociety, will find that, as almoſt all improvements of the human mind had reached nearly to their ſtate of perfection about the age of Auguſtus, there was a ſenſible decline from that point or period; and men thenceforth relapſed gradually into ignorance and barbariſm. The unlimited extent of the Roman empire, and the conſequent deſpotiſm of its monarchs, extinguiſhed all emulation, debaſed the generous ſpirits of men, and depreſſed that noble flame by which all the refined arts muſt be cheriſhed and enlivened. The military government, which ſoon ſucceeded, rendered even the lives and properties of men inſecure and precarious; and proved deſtructive to thoſe vulgar and more neceſſary arts of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and, in the end, to the military art and genius itſelf, by which alone the immenſe fabric of the empire could be ſupported. The irruption of the barbarous nations, which ſoon followed, overwhelmed all human knowledge, which was already far in its decline; and men ſunk every age deeper into ignorance, ſtupidity, and ſuperſtition; till the light of ancient ſcience and hiſtory had very nearly ſuffered a total extinction in all the European nations.

But there is a point of depreſſion, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary direction, and beyond which they ſeldom paſs either in their advancement or decline. The period in which the people of Chriſtendom were the loweſt ſunk in ignorance, and conſequently in diſorders of every kind, may juſtly be fixed at the eleventh century, about the age of William the Conqueror; and from that æra the ſun of ſcience, beginning to re-aſcend, threw out many gleams of

light, which preceded the full morning when letters were revived in the fifteenth century. The Danes, and other northern people, who had ſo long infeſted all the coaſts, and even the inland parts of Europe, by their depredations, having now learned the arts of tillage and agriculture, found a certain ſubſiſtence at home, and were no longer tempted to deſert their induſtry, in order to ſeek a precarious livelihood by rapine and by the plunder of their neighbours. The feudal governments alſo among the more ſouthern nations were reduced to a kind of ſyſtem; and, though that ſtrange ſpecies of civil polity was ill fitted to enſure either liberty or tranquillity, it was preferable to the univerſal licenſe and diſorder which had every where preceded it. But perhaps there was no event which tended farther to the improvements of the age than one which has not been much remarked, the accidental finding of a copy of Juſtinian's Pandects, about the year 1130, in the town of Amalfi in Italy.

The eccleſiaſtics, who had leiſure and ſome inclination to ſtudy, immediately adopted with zeal this excellent ſyſtem of juriſprudence, and ſpread the knowledge of it throughout every part of Europe. Beſides the intrinſic merit of the performance, it was recommended to them by its original connexion with the imperial city of Rome, which, being the ſeat of their religion, ſeemed to acquire a new luſtre and authority by the diffuſion of its laws over the weſtern world. In leſs than ten years after the diſcovery of the Pandects, Vacarius, under the protection of Theobald archbiſhop of Canterbury, read public lectures of civil law in the univerſity of Oxford; and the clergy every where, by their example as well as exhortation, were the means of diffuſing the higheſt eſteem for this new ſcience. That order of men, having large poſſeſſions to defend, was in a manner neceſſitated to turn their ſtudies towards the law; and their properties being often endangered by the violence of the princes and barons, it

became their intereſt to enforce the obſervance of general and equitable rules, from which alone they could receive protection. As they poſſeſſed all the knowledge of the age, and were alone acquainted with the habits of thinking, the practice as well as ſcience of the law fell moſtly into their hands: and, though the cloſe connexion, which, without any neceſſity, they formed between the canon and civil law, begat a jealouſy in the laity of England, and prevented the Roman juriſprudence from becoming the municipal law of the country, as was the caſe in many ſtates of Europe, a great part of it was ſecretly transferred into the practice of the courts of juſtice; and the imitation of their neighbours made the Engliſh gradually endeavour to raiſe their own law from its original ſtate of rudeneſs and imperfection.

It is eaſy to ſee what advantages Europe muſt have reaped by its inheriting at once from the ancients ſo complete an art, which was alſo ſo neceſſary for giving ſecurity to all other arts, and which, by refining, and ſtill more by beſtowing ſolidity on, the judgment, ſerved as a model to farther improvements. The ſenſible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private intereſt, recommended the ſtudy of it, at a time when the more exalted and ſpeculative ſciences carried no charms with them; and thus the laſt branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted was happily the firſt tranſmitted to the modern world; for it is remarkable that, in the decline of Roman learning, when the philoſophers were univerſally infected with ſuperſtition and ſophiſtry, and the poets and hiſtorians with barbariſm, the lawyers, who in other countries are ſeldom models of ſcience or politeneſs, were yet able, by the conſtant ſtudy and cloſe imitation of their predeceſſors, to maintain the ſame good ſenſe in their deciſions and reaſonings, and the ſame purity in their language and expreſſion.

What beſtowed an additional merit on the civil law, was the extreme imperfection of that juriſprudence which preceded it among all the European nations, eſpecially among the Saxons or ancient Engliſh. The abſurdities which prevailed at that time in the adminiſtration of juſtice may be conceived from authentic monuments which remain of the ancient Saxon laws; where a pecuniary commutation was received for every crime; where ſtated prices were fixed for men's lives and members; where private revenges were authorized for all injuries; where the uſe of the ordeal, corſned, and afterwards of the duel, was the received method of proof; and where the judges were ruſtic freeholders, aſſembled of a ſudden, and deciding a cauſe from one debate or altercation of the parties. Such a ſtate of ſociety was very little advanced beyond the rude ſtate of nature; violence univerſally prevailed, inſtead of general and equitable maxims; the pretended liberty of the times was only an incapacity of ſubmitting to government; and men, not protected by law in their lives and properties, ſought ſhelter by their perſonal ſervitude and attachments under ſome powerful chieftain, or by voluntary combinations.

The gradual progreſs of improvement raiſed the Europeans ſomewhat above this uncultivated ſtate; and affairs, in this iſland particularly, took early a turn which was more favourable to juſtice and to liberty. Civil employments and occupations ſoon became honourable among the Engliſh: the ſituation of that people rendered not the perpetual attention to wars ſo neceſſary as among their neighbours, and all regard was not confined to the military profeſſion: the gentry, and even the nobility, began to deem an acquaintance with the law a neceſſary part of education: they were leſs diverted than afterwards from ſtudies of this kind by other ſciences; and in the age of Henry VI, as we are told by Forteſcue, there were in the inns of court about

two thouſand ſtudents, moſt of them men of honourable birth, who gave application to this branch of civil knowledge: a circumſtance which proves that a conſiderable progreſs was already made in the ſcience of government, and which prognoſticated a ſtill greater.

One chief advantage, which reſulted from the introduction and progreſs of the arts, was the introduction and progreſs of freedom; and this conſequence affected men both in their perſonal and civil capacities.

If we conſider the ancient ſtate of Europe, we ſhall find that the far greater part of the ſociety were everywhere bereaved of their perſonal liberty, and lived entirely at the will of their maſters. Every one that was not noble was a ſlave: the peaſants were ſold along with the land: the few inhabitants of cities were not in a better condition: even the gentry themſelves were ſubjected to a long train of ſubordination under the greater barons or chief vaſſals of the crown; who, though ſeemingly placed in a high ſtate of ſplendour, yet, having but a ſlender protection from law, were expoſed to every tempeſt of the ſtate, and, by the precarious condition in which they lived, paid dearly for the power of oppreſſing and tyranniſing over their inferiors. The firſt incident which broke in upon this violent ſyſtem of government was the practice begun in Italy, and imitated in France, of erecting communities and corporations, endowed with privileges and a ſeparate municipal government, which gave them protection againſt the tyranny of the barons, and which the prince himſelf deemed it prudent to reſpect.[u] The relaxation of the feudal tenures, and an execution ſomewhat ſtricter of the public law, beſtowed an independence on vaſſals which was unknown to their forefathers. And even the peaſants themſelves, though later than other orders of the ſtate, made their eſcape from thoſe bonds

of villanage or ſlavery in which they had formerly been retained.

It may appear ſtrange that the progreſs of the arts, which ſeems, among the Greeks and Romans, to have daily increaſed the number of ſlaves, ſhould in later times have proved ſo general a ſource of liberty; but this difference in the events proceeded from a great difference in the circumſtances which attended thoſe inſtitutions. The ancient barons, obliged to maintain themſelves continually in a military poſture, and little emulous of elegance or ſplendour, employed not their villains as domeſtic ſervants, much leſs as manufacturers; but compoſed their retinue of freemen, whoſe military ſpirit rendered the chieftain formidable to his neighbours, and who were ready to attend him in every warlike enterpriſe. The villains were entirely occupied in the cultivation of their maſter's land, and paid their rents either in corn and cattle and other produce of the farm, or in ſervile offices, which they performed about the baron's family, and upon the farms which he retained in his own poſſeſſion. In proportion as agriculture improved, and money increaſed, it was found that theſe ſervices, though extremely burdenſome to the villain, were of little advantage to the maſter; and that the produce of a large eſtate could be much more conveniently diſpoſed of by the peaſants themſelves, who raiſed it, than by the landlord or his bailiff, who were formerly accuſtomed to receive it. A commutation was therefore made of rents for ſervices, and of money rents for thoſe in kind; and, as men in a ſubſequent age diſcovered that farms were better cultivated where the farmer enjoyed a ſecurity in his poſſeſſion, the practice of granting leaſes to the peaſant began to prevail, which entirely broke the bonds of ſervitude, already much relaxed from the former practices. After this manner villanage went gradually into diſuſe throughout the more civilized parts

of Europe: the intereſt of the maſter, as well as that of the ſlave, concurred in this alteration. The lateſt laws which we find in England for enforcing or regulating this ſpecies of ſervitude were enacted in the reign of Henry VII. And, though the ancient ſtatutes on this ſubject remain ſtill unrepealed by parliament, it appears that, before the end of Elizabeth, the diſtinction of villain and freeman was totally, though inſenſibly, aboliſhed, and that no perſon remained in the ſtate to whom the former laws could be applied.

Thus perſonal freedom became almoſt general in Europe; an advantage which paved the way for the increaſe of political or civil liberty, and which, even where it was not attended with this ſalutary effect, ſerved to give the members of the community ſome of the moſt conſiderable advantages of it.

The conſtitution of the Engliſh government, ever ſince the invaſion of this iſland by the Saxons, may boaſt of this preeminence, that in no age the will of the monarch was ever entirely abſolute and uncontrolled: but, in other reſpects, the balance of power has extremely ſhifted among the ſeveral orders of the ſtate; and this fabric has experienced the ſame mutability that has attended all human inſtitutions.

The ancient Saxons, like the other German nations, where each individual was inured to arms, and where the independence of men was ſecured by a great equality of poſſeſſions, ſeem to have admitted a conſiderable mixture of democracy into their form of government, and to have been one of the freeſt nations of which there remains any account in the records of hiſtory. After this tribe was ſettled in England, eſpecially after the diſſolution of the Heptarchy, the great extent of the kingdom produced a great inequality in property; and the balance ſeems to have inclined to the ſide of ariſtocracy. The Norman conqueſt threw more authority into the hands of

the ſovereign, which, however, admitted of great control, though derived leſs from the general forms of the conſtitution, which were inaccurate and irregular, than from the independent power enjoyed by each baron in his particular diſtrict or province. The eſtabliſhment of the Great Charter exalted ſtill higher the ariſtocracy, impoſed regular limits on royal power, and gradually introduced ſome mixture of democracy into the conſtitution. But, even during this period, from the acceſſion of Edward I to the death of Richard III, the condition of the commons was nowiſe eligible; a kind of Poliſh ariſtocracy prevailed; and, though the kings were limited, the people were as yet far from being free. It required the authority almoſt abſolute of the ſovereigns, which took place in the ſubſequent period, to pull down thoſe diſorderly and licentious tyrants, who were equally averſe from peace and from freedom, and to eſtabliſh that regular execution of the laws which in a following age enabled the people to erect a regular and equitable plan of liberty.

In each of theſe ſucceſſive alterations the only rule of government which is intelligible, or carries any authority with it, is the eſtabliſhed practice of the age, and the maxims of adminiſtration which are at that time prevalent and univerſally aſſented to. Thoſe who, from a pretended reſpect to antiquity, appeal at every turn to an original plan of the conſtitution, only cover their turbulent ſpirit and their private ambition under the appearance of venerable forms; and, whatever period they pitch on for their model, they may ſtill be carried back to a more ancient period, where they will find the meaſures of power entirely different, and where every circumſtance, by reaſon of the greater barbarity of the times, will appear ſtill leſs worthy of imitation. Above all, a civilized nation, like the Engliſh, who have happily eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect and moſt accurate ſyſtem of liberty that was ever found compatible with government,

ought to be cautious in appealing to the practice of their anceſtors, or regarding the maxims of uncultivated ages as certain rules for their preſent conduct. An acquaintance with the ancient periods of their government is chiefly uſeful, by inſtructing them to cheriſh their preſent conſtitution from a compariſon or contraſt with the condition of thoſe diſtant times. And it is alſo curious, by ſhewing them the remote and commonly faint and disfigured originals of the moſt finiſhed and moſt noble inſtitutions, and by inſtructing them in the great mixture of accident, which commonly concurs with a ſmall ingredient of wiſdom and foreſight, in erecting the complicated fabric of the moſt perfect government.

SEBASTIAN CABOT EXPLAINING HIS DISCOVERIES TO HENRY VII.

HENRY VII.

CH. XXIV. XXV. XXVI.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII: HIS RECEPTION IN LONDON: HIS CORONATION: AN INSURRECTION: REVOLT OF IRELAND: LAMBERT SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND.—FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND: AN INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH: KING SENDS FORCES INTO BRITANNY: WAR WITH FRANCE: PEACE WITH FRANCE: A PARLIAMENT.—BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH: PERKIN EXECUTED: MARRIAGE OF PRINCE ARTHUR WITH CATHERINE OF ARRAGON: HIS DEATH: OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE: DEATH OF THE KING: HIS CHARACTER: AND LAWS.

Stephanoff R. del. Published as the Act directs by R. Bowyer Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, London, March 1796 E. Thompson sculp.

GOLD
AND
SILVER
COINS
HENRY VII

FAMILY
OF
TUDOR

CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY VII.

1485....1509.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII....HIS TITLE TO THE CROWN....KING'S PREJUDICE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF YORK....HIS JOYFUL RECEPTION IN LONDON....SWEATING SICKNESS....A PARLIAMENT ....ENTAIL OF THE CROWN....KING'S MARRIAGE....AN INSURRECTION....DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE....LAMBERT SIMNEL.... REVOLT OF IRELAND....INTRIGUES OF THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY....LAMBERT SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND....BATTLE OF STOKE.

ACCESSION OF HENRY VII. 1485.

THE victory which the earl of Richmond gained at Bofworth was entirely decifive; being attended as well with the total rout and diſperſion of the royal army, as with the death of the king himſelf. Joy for this great ſucceſs ſuddenly prompted the ſoldiers in the field of battle to beſtow on their victorious general the appellation of King, which he had not hitherto aſſumed; and the acclamations of 'Long live Henry the Seventh!' by a natural and unpremeditated movement, reſounded from all quarters. To beſtow ſome appearance of formality on this ſpecies of

military election, ſir William Stanley brought a crown of ornament which Richard wore in battle, and which had been found among the ſpoils; and he put it on the head of the victor. Henry himſelf remained not in ſuſpenſe; but immediately, without heſitation, accepted of the magnificent preſent which was tendered him. He was come to the criſis of his fortune; and, being obliged ſuddenly to determine himſelf, amidſt great difficulties which he muſt have frequently revolved in his mind, he choſe that part which his ambition ſuggeſted to him, and to which he ſeemed to be invited by his preſent ſucceſs.

HIS TITLE TO THE CROWN.

THERE were many titles on which Henry could found his right to the crown; but no one of them free from great objections, if conſidered with reſpect either to juſtice or to policy.

During ſome years Henry had been regarded as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter by the party attached to that family; but the title of the houſe of Lancaſter itſelf was generally thought to be very ill founded. Henry IV, who had firſt raiſed it to royal dignity, had never clearly defined the foundation of his claim; and, while he plainly invaded the order of ſucceſſion, he had not acknowledged the election of the people. The parliament, it is true, had often recogniſed the title of the Lancaſtrian princes; but theſe votes had little authority, being conſidered as inſtances of complaiſance towards a family in poſſeſſion of preſent power; and they had accordingly been often reverſed during the late prevalence of the houſe of York. Prudent men alſo, who had been willing, for the ſake of peace, to ſubmit to any eſtabliſhed authority, deſired not to ſee the claims of that family revived; claims which muſt produce many convulſions at preſent, and which disjointed for the future the whole ſyſtem of hereditary

right. Beſides, allowing the title of the houſe of Lancaſter to be legal, Henry himſelf was not the true heir of that family; and nothing but the obſtinacy natural to faction, which never without reluctance will ſubmit to an antagoniſt, could have engaged the Lancaſtrians to adopt the earl of Richmond as their head. His mother indeed, Margaret counteſs of Richmond, was ſole daughter and heir of the duke of Somerſet, ſprung from John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter: but the deſcent of the Somerſet line was itſelf illegitimate, and even adulterous. And, though the duke of Lancaſter had obtained the legitimation of his natural children by a patent from Richard II, confirmed in parliament, it might juſtly be doubted whether this deed could beſtow any title to the crown; ſince in the patent itſelf all the privileges conferred by it are fully enumerated, and the ſucceſſion to the kingdom is expreſsly excluded.[v] In all ſettlements of the crown, made during the reigns of the Lancaſtrian princes, the line of Somerſet had been entirely overlooked; and it was not till the failure of the legitimate branch that men had paid any attention to their claim. And, to add to the general diſſatisfaction againſt Henry's title, his mother, from whom he derived all his right, was ſtill alive, and evidently preceded him in the order of ſucceſſion.

The title of the houſe of York, both from the plain reaſon of the caſe and from the late popular government of Edward IV, had univerſally obtained the preference in the ſentiments of the people; and Henry might ingraft his claim on the rights of that family by his intended marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, the heir of it; a marriage which he had ſolemnly promiſed to celebrate, and to the expectation of which he had chiefly owed all his paſt ſucceſſes. But many reaſons diſſuaded Henry from adopting this expedient. Were he to receive the crown only in the right of his conſort, his power he knew would be very limited:

and he muſt expect rather to enjoy the bare title of king by a ſort of courteſy, than poſſeſs the real authority which belongs to it. Should the princeſs die before him without iſſue, he muſt deſcend from the throne, and give place to the next in ſucceſſion: and, even if his bed ſhould be bleſt with offspring, it ſeemed dangerous to expect that filial piety in his children would prevail over the ambition of obtaining preſent poſſeſſion of regal power. An act of parliament, indeed, might eaſily be procured to ſettle the crown on him during life; but Henry knew how much ſuperior the claim of ſucceſſion by blood was to the authority of an aſſembly,[x] which had always been overborn by violence in the ſhock of contending titles, and which had ever been more governed by the conjunctures of the times than by any conſideration derived from reaſon or public intereſt.

There was yet a third foundation on which Henry might reſt his claim, the right of conqueſt, by his victory over Richard, the preſent poſſeſſor of the crown. But, beſides that Richard himſelf was deemed no better than an uſurper, the army which fought againſt him conſiſted chiefly of Engliſhmen; and a right of conqueſt over England could never be eſtabliſhed by ſuch a victory. Nothing alſo would give greater umbrage to the nation than a claim of this nature; which might be conſtrued as an abolition of all their rights and privileges, and the eſtabliſhment of abſolute authority in the ſovereign.[y] William himſelf, the Norman, though at the head of a powerful and victorious army of foreigners, had at firſt declined the invidious title of conqueror; and it was not till the full eſtabliſhment of his authority that he had ventured to advance ſo violent and deſtructive a pretenſion.

But Henry was ſenſible that there remained another foundation of power ſomewhat reſembling the right of conqueſt, namely,

preſent poſſeſſion; and that this title, guarded by vigour and abilities, would be ſufficient to ſecure perpetual poſſeſſion of the throne. He had before him the example of Henry IV, who, ſupported by no better pretenſion, had ſubdued many inſurrections, and had been able to tranſmit the crown peaceably to his poſterity. He could perceive that this claim, which had been perpetuated through three generations of the family of Lancaſter, might ſtill have ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the preferable title of the houſe of York, had not the ſceptre devolved into the hands of Henry VI, which were too feeble to ſuſtain it. Inſtructed by this recent experience, Henry was determined to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of regal authority, and to ſhew all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a ſucceſsful war, ſhould be able to expel him. His claim as heir to the houſe of Lancaſter he was reſolved to advance, and never allow to be diſcuſſed; and he hoped that this right, favoured by the partiſans of that family, and ſeconded by preſent power, would ſecure him a perpetual and an independent authority.

KING'S PREJUDICE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF YORK.

THESE views of Henry are not expoſed to much blame, becauſe founded on good policy, and even on a ſpecies of neceſſity; but there entered into all his meaſures and counſels another motive, which admits not of the ſame apology. The violent contentions which, during ſo long a period, had been maintained between the rival families, and the many ſanguinary revenges which they had alternately taken on each other, had inflamed the oppoſite factions to a high pitch of animoſity. Henry himſelf, who had ſeen moſt of his near friends and relations periſh in battle or by the executioner, and who had been expoſed, in his own perſon, to many hardſhips and dangers, had imbibed a violent antipathy

to the York party, which no time or experience were ever able to efface. Inſtead of embracing the preſent happy opportunity of aboliſhing theſe fatal diſtinctions, of uniting his title with that of his conſort, and of beſtowing favour indiſcriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities which belong to the head of a faction, and even the paſſions which are carefully guarded againſt by every true politician in that ſituation. To exalt the Lancaſtrian party, to depreſs the adherents of the houſe of York, were ſtill the favourite objects of his purſuit; and, through the whole courſe of his reign, he never forgot theſe early prepoſſeſſions. Incapable, from his natural temper, of a more enlarged and more benevolent ſyſtem of policy, he expoſed himſelf to many preſent inconveniencies, by too anxiouſly guarding againſt that future poſſible event, which might disjoin his title from that of the princeſs whom he eſpouſed. And, while he treated the Yorkiſts as enemies, he ſoon rendered them ſuch, and taught them to diſcuſs that right to the crown which he ſo carefully kept ſeparate, and to perceive its weakneſs and invalidity.

To theſe paſſions of Henry, as well as to his ſuſpicious politics, we are to aſcribe the meaſures which he embraced two days after the battle of Boſworth. Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, ſon of the duke of Clarence, was detained in a kind of confinement, at Sherif-Hutton in Yorkſhire, by the jealouſy of his uncle Richard, whoſe title to the throne was inferior to that of the young prince. Warwick had now reaſon to expect better treatment, as he was no obſtacle to the ſucceſſion either of Henry or Elizabeth; and from a youth of ſuch tender years no danger could reaſonably be apprehended. But ſir Robert Willoughby was diſpatched by Henry, with orders to take him from Sherif-Hutton, to convey him to the tower, and to detain him in cloſe cuſtody.[z] The ſame meſſenger carried directions

that the princeſs Elizabeth, who had been confined to the ſame place, ſhould be conducted to London, in order to meet Henry, and there celebrate her nuptials.

HENRY'S JOYFUL RECEPTION IN LONDON.

HENRY himſelf ſet out for the capital, and advanced by ſlow journies. Not to rouſe the jealouſy of the people, he took care to avoid all appearance of military triumph; and ſo to reſtrain the inſolence of victory, that every thing about him bore the appearance of an eſtabliſhed monarch, making a peaceable progreſs through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The acclamations of the people were every where loud, and no leſs ſincere and hearty. Beſides that a young and victorious prince, on his acceſſion, was naturally the object of popularity, the nation promiſed themſelves great felicity from the new ſcene which opened before them. During the courſe of near a whole century the kingdom had been laid waſte by domeſtic wars and convulſions; and, if at any time the noiſe of arms had ceaſed, the ſound of faction and diſcontent ſtill threatened new diſorders. Henry, by his marriage with Elizabeth, ſeemed to enſure a union of the contending titles of the two families; and, having prevailed over a hated tyrant, who had anew disjointed the ſucceſſion even of the houſe of York, and had filled his own family with blood and murder, he was every where attended with the unfeigned favour of the people. Numerous and ſplendid troops of gentry and nobility accompanied his progreſs; the mayor and companies of London received him as he approached the city; the crowds of people and citizens were zealous in their expreſſions of ſatisfaction. But Henry, amidſt this general effuſion of joy, diſcovered ſtill the ſtatelineſs and reſerve of his temper, which made him

ſcorn to court popularity: he entered London in a cloſe chariot, and would not gratify the people with a ſight of their new ſovereign.

But the king did not ſo much neglect the favour of the people as to delay giving them aſſurances of his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, which he knew to be ſo paſſionately deſired by the nation. On his leaving Brittany he had artfully dropped ſome hints that, if he ſhould ſucceed in his enterpriſe, and obtain the crown of England, he would eſpouſe Anne, the heir of that duchy; and the report of this engagement had already reached England, and had begotten anxiety in the people, and even in Elizabeth herſelf. Henry took care to diſſipate theſe apprehenſions, by ſolemnly renewing, before the council and principal nobility, the promiſe which he had already given to celebrate his nuptials with the Engliſh princeſs. But, though bound by honour as well as by intereſt to complete this alliance, he was reſolved to poſtpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation ſhould be finiſhed, and till his title ſhould be recogniſed by parliament. Still anxious to ſupport his perſonal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded leſt a preceding marriage with the princeſs ſhould imply a participation of ſovereignty in her, and raiſe doubts of his own title by the houſe of Lancaſter.

SWEATING SICKNESS.

THERE raged at that time in London, and other parts of the kingdom, a ſpecies of malady unknown to any other age or nation, the ſweating ſickneſs, which occaſioned the ſudden death of great multitudes; though it ſeemed not to be propagated by any contagious infection, but aroſe from the general diſpoſition of the air and of the human body. In leſs than twenty-four

hours the patient commonly died or recovered; but, when the peſtilence had exerted its fury for a few weeks, it was obſerved, either from alterations in the air, or from a more proper regimen which had been diſcovered,[a] to be conſiderably abated. Preparations were then made for the ceremony of Henry's coronation. In order to heighten the ſplendour of that ſpectacle, he beſtowed the rank of knight banneret on twelve perſons; and he conferred peerages on three. Jaſper earl of Pembroke, his uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley, his father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney earl of Devonſhire. At the coronation, likewiſe, there appeared a new inſtitution, which the king had eſtabliſhed for ſecurity as well as pomp; a band of fifty archers, who were termed yeomen of the guard. But, leſt the people ſhould take umbrage at this unuſual ſymptom of jealouſy in the prince, as if it implied a perſonal diffidence of his ſubjects, he declared the inſtitution to be perpetual. The ceremony of coronation was performed by cardinal Bouchier archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A PARLIAMENT.

THE parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter, on the ſeventh of November, the majority immediately appeared to be devoted partiſans of Henry; all perſons of another diſpoſition either declining to ſtand in thoſe dangerous times, or being obliged to diſſemble their principles and inclinations. The Lancaſtrian party had every where been ſucceſsful in the elections; and even many had been returned who, during the prevalence of the houſe of York, had been expoſed to the rigour of law, and had been condemned by ſentence of attainder and outlawry. Their right to take ſeats in the houſe being queſtioned, the caſe was referred to all the judges, who aſſembled in the exchequer chamber, in

order to deliberate on ſo delicate a ſubject. The opinion delivered was prudent, and contained a juſt temperament between law and expediency.[b] The judges determined that the members attainted ſhould forbear taking their ſeat till an act were paſſed for the reverſal of their attainder. There was no difficulty in obtaining this act, and in it were comprehended a hundred and ſeven perſons of the king's party.[c]

But a ſcruple was ſtarted of a nature ſtill more important. The king himſelf had been attainted; and his right of ſucceſſion to the crown might thence be expoſed to ſome doubt. The judges extricated themſelves from this dangerous queſtion by aſſerting it as a maxim 'That the crown takes away all defects and ſtops in blood; and that, from the time the king aſſumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood [d] diſcharged.' Beſides that the caſe, from its urgent neceſſity, admitted of no deliberation, the judges probably thought that no ſentence of a court of judicature had authority ſufficient to bar the right of ſucceſſion; that the heir of the crown was commonly expoſed to ſuch jealouſy as might often occaſion ſtretches of law and juſtice againſt him; and that a prince might even be engaged in unjuſtifiable meaſures during his predeceſſor's reign, without meriting on that account to be excluded from the throne, which was his birthright.

With a parliament ſo obſequious, the king could not fail of obtaining whatever act of ſettlement he was pleaſed to require. He ſeems only to have entertained ſome doubt within himſelf on what claim he ſhould found his pretenſions. In his ſpeech to the parliament he mentioned his juſt title by hereditary right; but, leſt that title ſhould not be eſteemed ſufficient, he ſubjoined his claim by the judgment of God, who had given him victory over his enemies. And again, leſt this pretenſion ſhould be interpreted as aſſuming a right of conqueſt, he en-

ſured to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of their former properties and poſſeſſions.

ENTAIL OF THE CROWN.

THE entail of the crown was drawn according to the ſenſe of the king, and probably in words dictated by him. He made no mention in it of the princeſs Elizabeth, nor of any branch of her family; but in other reſpects the act was compiled with ſufficient reſerve and moderation. He did not inſiſt that it ſhould contain a declaration or recognition of his preceding right, as on the other hand he avoided the appearance of a new law or ordinance. He choſe a middle courſe, which, as is generally unavoidable in ſuch caſes, was not entirely free from uncertainty and obſcurity. It was voted 'That the inheritance of the crown ſhould reſt, remain, and abide,[e] in the king;' but whether as rightful heir, or only as preſent poſſeſſor, was not determined. In like manner Henry was contented that the ſucceſſion ſhould be ſecured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in caſe of their failure, to exclude the houſe of York, or give the preference to that of Lancaſter; he left that great point ambiguous for the preſent, and truſted that, if it ſhould ever become requiſite to determine it, future incidents would open the way for the deciſion.

But, even after all theſe precautions, the king was ſo little ſatisfied with his own title that, in the following year, he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of it; and, as the court of Rome gladly laid hold of all opportunities which the imprudence, weakneſs, or neceſſities, of princes afforded it to extend its influence, Innocent VIII, the reigning pope, readily granted a bull in whatever terms the king was pleaſed to deſire. All Henry's titles, by ſucceſſion, marriage, parliamentary choice,

even conqueſt, are there enumerated; and to the whole the ſanction of religion is added; excommunication is denounced againſt every one who ſhould either diſturb him in the preſent poſſeſſion, or the heirs of his body in the future ſucceſſion, of the crown; and from this penalty no criminal, except in the article of death, could be abſolved but by the pope himſelf, or his ſpecial commiſſioners. It is difficult to imagine that the ſecurity derived from this bull could be a compenſation for the defect which it betrayed in Henry's title, and for the danger of thus inviting the pope to interpoſe in theſe concerns.

It was natural, and even laudable, in Henry to reverſe the attainders which had paſſed againſt the partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter: but the revenges which he exerciſed againſt the adherents of the York family, to which he was ſo ſoon to be allied, cannot be conſidered in the ſame light. Yet the parliament, at his inſtigation, paſſed an act of attainder againſt the late king himſelf, againſt the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, viſcount Lovel, the lords Zouche and Ferrars of Chartley, ſir Walter and ſir James Harrington, ſir William Berkeley, ſir Humphrey Stafford, Cateſby, and about twenty other gentlemen, who had fought on Richard's ſide in the battle of Boſworth. How men could be guilty of treaſon, by ſupporting the king in poſſeſſion againſt the earl of Richmond, who aſſumed not the title of king, it is not eaſy to conceive; and nothing but a ſervile complaiſance in the parliament could have engaged them to make this ſtretch of juſtice. Nor was it a ſmall mortification to the people in general to find that the king, prompted either by avarice or reſentment, could, in the very beginning of his reign, ſo far violate the cordial union which had previouſly been concerted between the parties, and to the expectation of which he had plainly owed his ſucceſſion to the throne.

The king, having gained ſo many points of conſequence from the parliament, thought it not expedient to demand any ſupply from them, which the profound peace enjoyed by the nation, and the late forfeiture of Richard's adherents, ſeemed to render ſomewhat ſuperfluous. The parliament, however, conferred on him during life the duty of tonnage and poundage, which had been enjoyed in the ſame manner by ſome of his immediate predeceſſors; and they added, before they broke up, other money bills of no great moment. The king, on his part, made returns of grace and favour to his people. He publiſhed his royal proclamation, offering pardon to all ſuch as had taken arms, or formed any attempts, againſt him; provided they ſubmitted themſelves to mercy by a certain day, and took the uſual oath of fealty and allegiance. Upon this proclamation many came out of their ſanctuaries; and the minds of men were every where much quieted. Henry choſe to take wholly to himſelf the merit of an act of grace, ſo agreeable to the nation, rather than communicate it with the parliament (as was his firſt intention) by paſſing a bill to that purpoſe. The earl of Surrey, however, though he had ſubmitted, and delivered himſelf into the king's hands, was ſent priſoner to the tower.

During this parliament the king alſo beſtowed favours and honours on ſome particular perſons who were attached to him. Edward Stafford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Buckingham, attainted in the late reign, was reſtored to the honours of his family, as well as to its fortune, which was very ample. This generoſity, ſo unuſual in Henry, was the effect of his gratitude to the memory of Buckingham, who had firſt concerted the plan of his elevation, and who by his own ruin had made way for that great event. Chandos of Brittany was created earl of Bath, ſir Giles Daubeny lord Daubeny, and ſir Robert Willoughby lord

Broke. Theſe were all the titles of nobility conferred by the king during this ſeſſion of parliament.[f]

But the miniſters whom Henry moſt truſted and favoured were not choſen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Moreton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, perſons of induſtry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and ſecret counſels. They had ſhared with him all his former dangers and diſtreſſes; and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Moreton was reſtored to the biſhopric of Ely, Fox was created biſhop of Exeter. The former ſoon after, upon the death of Bouchier, was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury: the latter was made privy ſeal; and ſucceſſively biſhop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. For Henry, as lord Bacon obſerves, loved to employ and advance prelates; becauſe, having rich biſhoprics to beſtow, it was eaſy for him to reward their ſervices: and it was his maxim to raiſe them by ſlow ſteps, and make them firſt paſs through the inferior ſees.[g] He probably expected that, as they were naturally more dependant on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed poſſeſſions and juriſdictions dangerous to royal authority, ſo the proſpect of farther elevation would render them ſtill more active in his ſervice, and more obſequious to his commands.

KING'S MARRIAGE.

In preſenting the bill of tonnage and poundage, the parliament, anxious to preſerve the legal undiſputed ſucceſſion to the crown, had petitioned Henry, with demonſtrations of the greateſt zeal, to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth; but they covered their true reaſon under the dutiful pretence of their deſire to have heirs of his body. He now thought in earneſt of ſatisfying the minds

of his people in that particular. His marriage was celebrated at London, and that with greater appearance of univerſal joy than either his firſt entry or his coronation. Henry remarked with much diſpleaſure this general favour born to the houſe of York. The ſuſpicions which aroſe from it not only diſturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred diſguſt towards his conſort herſelf, and poiſoned all his domeſtic enjoyments. Though virtuous, amiable, and obſequious, to the laſt degree, ſhe never met with a proper return of affection, or even of complaiſance from her huſband; and the malignant ideas of faction ſtill, in his ſullen mind, prevailed over all the ſentiments of conjugal tenderneſs.

AN INSURRECTION. 1486.

THE king had been carried along with ſuch a tide of ſucceſs, ever ſince his arrival in England, that he thought nothing could withſtand the fortune and authority which attended him. He now reſolved to make a progreſs into the north, where the friends of the houſe of York, and even the partiſans of Richard, were numerous; in hopes of curing, by his preſence and converſation, the prejudices of the malcontents. When he arrived at Nottingham he heard that viſcount Lovel, with ſir Humfrey Stafford and Thomas his brother, had ſecretly withdrawn themſelves from their ſanctuary at Colcheſter. But this news appeared not to him of ſuch importance as to ſtop his journey; and he proceeded forward to York. He there heard that the Staffords had levied an army, and were marching to beſiege the city of Worceſter; and that Lovel, at the head of three or four thouſand men, was approaching to attack him in York. Henry was not diſmayed with this intelligence. His active courage, full of reſources, immediately prompted him to find the proper remedy.

Though ſurrounded with enemies in theſe diſaffected counties, he aſſembled a ſmall body of troops in whom he could confide; and he put them under the command of the duke of Bedford. He joined to them all his own attendants; but he found that this haſty armament was more formidable by their ſpirit and their zealous attachment to him than by the arms or military ſtores with which they were provided. He therefore gave Bedford orders not to approach the enemy, but previouſly to try every proper expedient to diſperſe them. Bedford publiſhed a general promiſe of pardon to the rebels, which had a greater effect on their leader than on his followers. Lovel, who had undertaken an enterpriſe that exceeded his courage and capacity, was ſo terrified with the fear of deſertion among his troops that he ſuddenly withdrew himſelf; and, after lurking ſome time in Lancaſhire, he made his eſcape into Flanders, where he was protected by the ducheſs of Burgundy. His army ſubmitted to the king's clemency; and the other rebels, hearing of this ſucceſs, raiſed the ſiege of Worceſter, and diſperſed themſelves. The Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but, as it was found that this church had not the privilege of giving protection to rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn; the younger, pleading that he had been miſled by his brother, obtained a pardon.[h]

Henry's joy for this ſucceſs was followed, ſome time after, by the birth of a prince, to whom he gave the name of Arthur, in memory of the famous Britiſh king of that name, from whom it was pretended the family of Tudor derived its deſcent.

DISCONTENTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Though Henry had been able to defeat this haſty rebellion, raiſed by the relics of Richard's partiſans, his government was

become in general unpopular. The ſource of public diſcontent aroſe chiefly from his prejudices againſt the houſe of York, which was generally beloved by the nation, and which for that very reaſon became every day more the object of his hatred and jealouſy. Not only a preference on all occaſions, it was obſerved, was given to the Lancaſtrians; but many of the oppoſite party had been expoſed to great ſeverity, and had been bereaved of their fortunes by acts of attainder. A general reſumption likewiſe had paſſed of all grants made by the princes of the houſe of York: and, though this rigour had been covered under the pretence that the revenue was become inſufficient to ſupport the dignity of the crown; and though the grants, during the later years of Henry VI, were reſumed by the ſame law; yet the York party, as they were the principal ſufferers by the reſumption, thought it chiefly levelled againſt them. The ſeverity exerciſed againſt the earl of Warwick begat compaſſion for youth and innocence expoſed to ſuch oppreſſion; and his confinement in the tower, the very place where Edward's children had been murdered by their uncle, made the public expect a like cataſtrophe for him, and led them to make a compariſon between Henry and that deteſted tyrant. And, when it was remarked that the queen herſelf met with harſh treatment, and even after the birth of a ſon was not admitted to the honour of a public coronation, Henry's prepoſſeſſions were then concluded to be inveterate, and men became equally obſtinate in their diſguſt to his government. Nor was the manner and addreſs of the king calculated to cure theſe prejudices contracted againſt his adminiſtration; but had in every thing a tendency to promote fear, or at beſt reverence, rather than good-will and affection.[1] While the high idea entertained of his policy and vigour retained the nobility and men of character in obedience, the effects of his unpopular government ſoon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature.

LAMBERT SIMNEL.

THERE lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a prieſt, who poſſeſſed ſome ſubtilty, and ſtill more enterpriſe and temerity. This man had entertained the deſign of diſturbing Henry's government, by raiſing a pretender to his crown; and for that purpoſe he caſt his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of fifteen years of age, who was ſon of a baker, and who, being endowed with underſtanding above his years, and addreſs above his condition, ſeemed well fitted to perſonate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been ſpread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard duke of York, ſecond ſon of Edward IV, had, by a ſecret eſcape, ſaved himſelf from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay ſomewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumour, had at firſt inſtructed his pupil to aſſume that name, which he found to be ſo fondly cheriſhed by the public: but, hearing afterwards a new report, that Warwick had made his eſcape from the tower, and obſerving that this news was attended with no leſs general ſatisfaction, he changed the plan of his impoſture, and made Simnel perſonate that unfortunate prince.[k] Though the youth was qualified by nature for the part which he was inſtructed to act, yet was it remarked that he was better informed in circumſtances relating to the royal family, particularly in the adventures of the earl of Warwick, than he could be ſuppoſed to have learned from one of Simon's condition: and it was thence conjectured that perſons of higher rank, partiſans of the houſe of York, had laid the plan of this conſpiracy, and had conveyed proper inſtructions to the actors. The queen dowager herſelf was expoſed to ſuſpicion; and it was indeed the general opinion, however unlikely it might ſeem, that ſhe had ſecretly given her conſent to the impoſture.

This woman was of a very reſtleſs diſpoſition. Finding that, inſtead of receiving the reward of her ſervices in contributing to Henry's elevation, ſhe herſelf was fallen into abſolute inſignificance, her daughter treated with ſeverity, and all her friends brought under ſubjection, ſhe had conceived the moſt violent animoſity againſt him, and had reſolved to make him feel the effects of her reſentment. She knew that the impoſtor, however ſucceſsful, might eaſily at laſt be ſet aſide; and, if a way could be found at his riſque to ſubvert the government, ſhe hoped that a ſcene might be opened which, though difficult at preſent exactly to foreſee, would gratify her revenge, and be on the whole leſs irkſome to her than that ſlavery and contempt to which ſhe was now reduced.[1]

REVOLT OF IRELAND.

But, whatever care Simon might take to convey inſtruction to his pupil Simnel, he was ſenſible that the impoſture would not bear a cloſe inſpection; and he was therefore determined to open the firſt public ſcene of it in Ireland. That iſland, which was zealouſly attached to the houſe of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant, was improvidently allowed by Henry to remain in the ſame condition in which he found it; and all the counſellors and officers who had been appointed by his predeceſſors ſtill retained their authority. No ſooner did Simnel preſent himſelf to Thomas Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claim his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman, not ſuſpecting ſo bold an impoſture, gave attention to him, and began to conſult ſome perſons of rank with regard to this extraordinary incident. Theſe he found even more ſanguine in their zeal and belief than him-

ſelf. And, in proportion as the ſtory diffuſed itſelf among thoſe of lower condition, it became the object of ſtill greater paſſion and credulity, till the people in Dublin with one conſent tendered their allegiance to Simnel as to the true Plantagenet. Fond of a novelty which flattered their natural propenſion, they overlooked the daughters of Edward IV, who ſtood before Warwick in the order of ſucceſſion; they paid the pretended prince attendance as their ſovereign; lodged him in the caſtle of Dublin; crowned him with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the virgin; and publicly proclaimed him king by the appellation of Edward VI. The whole iſland followed the example of the capital; and not a ſword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel.

When this intelligence was conveyed to the king it reduced him to ſome perplexity. Determined always to face his enemies in perſon, he yet ſcrupled at preſent to leave England, where he ſuſpected the conſpiracy was firſt framed, and where he knew many perſons of condition, and the people in general, were much diſpoſed to give it countenance. In order to diſcover the ſecret ſource of the contrivance, and take meaſures againſt this open revolt, he held frequent conſultations with his miniſters and counſellors, and laid plans for a vigorous defence of his authority, and the ſuppreſſion of his enemies.

The firſt event which followed theſe deliberations gave ſurpriſe to the public: it was the ſeizure of the queen dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the cloſe confinement of her perſon in the nunnery of Bermondſey. This act of authority was covered with a very thin pretence. It was alleged that, notwithſtanding the ſecret agreement to marry her daughter to Henry, ſhe had yet yielded to the ſolicitations and menaces of Richard, and had delivered that princeſs and her ſiſters into the hands of the tyrant. This crime, which was now become

obſolete, and might admit of alleviations, was therefore ſuſpected not to be the real cauſe of the ſeverity with which ſhe was treated; and men believed that the king, unwilling to accuſe ſo near a relation of a conſpiracy againſt him, had cloaked his vengeance or precaution under colour of an offence known to the whole world.[m] They were afterwards the more confirmed in this ſuſpicion when they found that the unfortunate queen, though ſhe ſurvived this diſgrace ſeveral years, was never treated with any more lenity, but was allowed to end her life in poverty, ſolitude, and confinement.

The next meaſure of the king's was of a leſs exceptionable nature. He ordered that Warwick ſhould be taken from the tower; be led in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London; be conducted to St. Paul's, and there expoſed to the view of the whole people. He even gave directions that ſome men of rank, attached to the houſe of York, and beſt acquainted with the perſon of this prince, ſhould approach him, and converſe with him: and he truſted that theſe, being convinced of the abſurd impoſture of Simnel, would put a ſtop to the credulity of the populace. The expedient had its effect in England: but in Ireland the people ſtill perſiſted in their revolt, and zealouſly retorted on the king the reproach of propagating an impoſture, and of having ſhewn a counterfeit Warwick to the public.

Henry had ſoon reaſon to apprehend that the deſign againſt him was not laid on ſuch ſlight foundations as the abſurdity of the contrivance ſeemed to indicate. John earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth eldeſt ſiſter to Edward IV, was engaged to take part in the conſpiracy. This nobleman, who poſſeſſed capacity and courage, had entertained very aſpiring views; and his ambition was encouraged by the known intentions of his uncle Richard, who had formed a deſign, in caſe he himſelf ſhould die without iſſue, of declaring Lincoln

ſucceſſor to the crown. The king's jealouſy againſt all eminent perſons of the York party, and his rigour towards Warwick, had farther ſtruck Lincoln with apprehenſions, and made him reſolve to ſeek for ſafety in the moſt dangerous counſels. Having fixed a ſecret correſpondence with ſir Thomas Broughton, a man of great intereſt in Lancaſhire, he retired to Flanders, where Lovel had arrived a little before him; and he lived during ſome time in the court of his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over.

INTRIGUES OF THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY.

MARGARET, widow of Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy, not having any children of her own, attached herſelf, with an entire friendſhip, to her daughter-in-law, married to Maximilian archduke of Auſtria; and after the death of that princeſs ſhe perſevered in her affection to Philip and Margaret her children, and occupied herſelf in the care of their education and of their perſons. By her virtuous conduct and demeanour ſhe had acquired great authority among the Flemings; and lived with much dignity, as well as œconomy, upon that ample dowry which ſhe inherited from her huſband. The reſentments of this princeſs were no leſs warm than her friendſhips; and that ſpirit of faction, which it is ſo difficult for a ſocial and ſanguine temper to guard againſt, had taken ſtrong poſſeſſion of her heart, and intrenched ſomewhat on the probity which ſhone forth in the other parts of her character. Hearing of the malignant jealouſy entertained by Henry againſt her family, and his oppreſſion of all its partiſans, ſhe was moved with the higheſt indignation, and ſhe determined to make him repent of that enmity to which ſo many of her friends, without any reaſon or neceſſity, had fallen victims.

SIMNEL INVADES ENGLAND. 1487.

AFTER conſulting with Lincoln and Lovel, ſhe hired a body of two thouſand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer;[n] and ſent them over, together with theſe two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. The countenance given by perſons of ſuch high rank, and the acceſſion of this military force, much raiſed the courage of the Iriſh, and made them entertain the reſolution of invading England, where they believed the ſpirit of diſaffection as prevalent as it appeared to be in Ireland. The poverty alſo under which they laboured made it impoſſible for them to ſupport any longer their new court and army, and inſpired them with a ſtrong deſire of enriching themſelves by plunder and preferment in England.

Henry was not ignorant of theſe intentions of his enemies; and he prepared himſelf for defence. He ordered troops to be levied in different parts of the kingdom, and put them under the command of the duke of Bedford and earl of Oxford. He confined the marquis of Dorſet, who he ſuſpected would reſent the injuries ſuffered by his mother the queen dowager: and, to gratify the people by an appearance of devotion, he made a pilgrimage to our lady of Walſingham, famous for miracles; and there offered up prayers for ſucceſs, and for deliverance from his enemies.

BATTLE OF STOKE.

BEING informed that Simnel was landed at Foudrey in Lancaſhire, he drew together his forces, and advanced towards the enemy as far as Coventry. The rebels had entertained hopes that the diſaffected counties in the north would riſe in their fa-

vour: but the people in general, averſe to join Iriſh and German invaders, convinced of Lambert's impoſture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation for ſucceſs and conduct, either remained in tranquillity, or gave aſſiſtance to the royal army. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, was determined to bring the matter to a ſpeedy deciſion; and the king, ſupported by the native courage of his temper, and emboldened by a great acceſſion of volunteers, who had joined him under the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Strange, declined not the combat. The hoſtile armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, on the ſixth of June, and fought a battle which was bloody, and more obſtinately diſputed than could have been expected from the inequality of their force. All the leaders of the rebels were reſolved to conquer or to periſh; and they inſpired their troops with like reſolution. The Germans alſo, being veteran and experienced ſoldiers, kept the event long doubtful; and even the Iriſh, though ill armed and almoſt defenceleſs, ſhewed themſelves not defective in ſpirit and bravery. The king's victory was purchaſed with loſs, but was entirely deciſive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, periſhed in the field of battle, with four thouſand of their followers. As Lovel was never more heard of, he was believed to have undergone the ſame fate. Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken priſoner. Simon, being a prieſt, was not tried at law, and was only committed to cloſe cuſtody; Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehenſion or reſentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a ſcullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterwards advanced to the rank of a falconer.°

Henry had now leiſure to revenge himſelf on his enemies. He made a progreſs into the northern parts, where he gave many proofs of his rigorous diſpoſition. A ſtrict inquiry was

made after thoſe who had aſſiſted or favoured the rebels. The puniſhments were not all ſanguinary; the king made his revenge ſubſervient to his avarice. Heavy fines were levied upon the delinquents. The proceedings of the courts, and even the courts themſelves, were arbitrary. Either the criminals were tried by commiſſioners appointed for the purpoſe, or they ſuffered puniſhment by a ſentence of a court-martial. And, as a rumour had prevailed before the battle of Stoke, that the rebels had gained the victory, that the royal army was cut in pieces, and that the king himſelf had eſcaped by flight, Henry was reſolved to interpret the belief or propagation of this report as a mark of diſaffection; and he puniſhed many for that pretended crime. But ſuch in this age was the ſituation of the Engliſh government, that the royal prerogative, which was but imperfectly reſtrained during the moſt peaceable periods, was ſure, in tumultuous or even ſuſpicious times, which frequently recurred, to break all bounds of law, and to violate public liberty.

After the king had gratified his rigour by the puniſhment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was paſſionately deſired by them. The queen had been married near two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great diſcontent to the public, and had been one principal ſource of the diſaffection which prevailed. The king, inſtructed by experience, now finiſhed the ceremony of her coronation; and, to ſhew a diſpoſition ſtill more gracious, he reſtored to liberty the marquis of Dorſet, who had been able to clear himſelf of all the ſuſpicions entertained againſt him.

CHAPTER XXV.

HENRY VII.

STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS....STATE OF SCOTLAND....OF SPAIN ....OF THE LOW COUNTRIES....OF FRANCE....OF BRITTANY.... FRENCH INVASION OF BRITTANY....FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND....DISSIMULATION OF THE FRENCH COURT....AN INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH SUPPRESSED....FORCES SENT INTO BRITTANY....BRITTANY ANNEXED TO FRANCE....A PARLIAMENT ....WAR WITH AND INVASION OF FRANCE....PEACE WITH FRANCE ....PERKIN WARBEC'S IMPOSTURE....HE IS AVOWED BY THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, &c.....TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STANLEY....A PARLIAMENT.

STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. 1488.

THE king acquired great reputation throughout Europe by the vigorous and proſperous conduct of his domeſtic affairs: but, as ſome incidents about this time invited him to look abroad, and exert himſelf in behalf of his allies, it will be neceſſary, in order to give a juſt account of his foreign meaſures, to explain the ſituation of the neighbouring kingdoms, beginning with Scotland, which lies moſt contiguous.

STATE OF SCOTLAND.

THE kingdom of Scotland had not yet attained that ſtate which diſtinguiſhes a civilized monarchy, and which enables the government, by the force of its laws and inſtitutions alone, without any extraordinary capacity in the ſovereign, to maintain itſelf in order and tranquillity. James III, who now filled the throne, was a prince of little induſtry and of a narrow genius; and, though it behoved him to yield the reins of government to his miniſters, he had never been able to make any choice which could give contentment both to himſelf and to his people. When he beſtowed his confidence on any of the principal nobility, he found that they exalted their own family to ſuch a height as was dangerous to the prince, and gave umbrage to the ſtate; when he conferred favour on any perſon of meaner birth, on whoſe ſubmiſſion he could more depend, the barons of his kingdom, enraged at the power of an upſtart minion, proceeded to the utmoſt extremities againſt their ſovereign. Had Henry entertained the ambition of conqueſts, a tempting opportunity now offered of reducing that kingdom to ſubjection; but, as he was probably ſenſible that a warlike people, though they might be overrun by reaſon of their domeſtic diviſions, could not be retained in obedience without a regular military force, which was then unknown in England, he rather intended the renewal of the peace with Scotland, and ſent an embaſſy to James for that purpoſe. But the Scots, who never deſired a durable peace with England, and who deemed their ſecurity to conſiſt in conſtantly preſerving themſelves in a warlike poſture, would not agree to more than a ſeven years' truce, which was accordingly concluded.[P]

STATE OF SPAIN.

THE European ſtates on the continent were then haſtening faſt to the ſituation in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries; and began to unite themſelves into one extenſive ſyſtem of policy, which comprehended the chief powers of Chriſtendom. Spain, which had hitherto been almoſt entirely occupied within herſelf, now became formidable by the union of Arragon and Caſtile in the perſons of Ferdinand and Iſabella, who, being princes of great capacity, employed their force in enterpriſes the moſt advantageous to their combined monarchy. The conqueſt of Granada from the Moors was then undertaken, and brought near to a happy concluſion: and in that expedition the military genius of Spain was revived; honour and ſecurity were attained; and her princes, no longer kept in awe by a domeſtic enemy ſo dangerous, began to enter into all the tranſactions of Europe, and make a great figure in every war and negociation.

STATE OF THE LOW COUNTRIES.

MAXIMILIAN king of the Romans, ſon of the emperor Frederic, had, by his marriage with the heireſs of Burgundy, acquired an intereſt in the Netherlands; and, though the death of his conſort had weakened his connexions with that country, he ſtill pretended to the government as tutor to his ſon Philip; and his authority had been acknowledged by Brabant, Holland, and ſeveral of the provinces: but, as Flanders and Hainault ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to his regency, and even appointed other tutors to Philip, he had been engaged in long wars againſt that obſtinate people, and never was able thoroughly to ſubdue their ſpirit.

That he might free himſelf from the oppoſition of France, he had concluded a peace with Lewis XI; and had given his daughter Margaret, then an infant, in marriage to the dauphin, together with Artois, Franche-Compte, and Charolois, as her dowry. But this alliance had not produced the deſired effect. The dauphin ſucceeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Charles VIII. But Maximilian ſtill found the mutinies of the Flemings fomented by the intrigues of the court of France.

STATE OF FRANCE.

France, during the two preceding reigns, had made a mighty increaſe in power and greatneſs; and, had not other ſtates of Europe at the ſame time received an acceſſion of force, it had been impoſſible to have retained her within her ancient boundaries. Moſt of the great fiefs, Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne, Provence, and Burgundy, had been united to the crown; the Engliſh had been expelled from all their conqueſts; the authority of the prince had been raiſed to ſuch a height as enabled him to maintain law and order; a conſiderable military force was kept on foot, and the finances were able to ſupport it. Lewis XI indeed, from whom many of theſe advantages were derived, was dead, and had left his ſon in early youth, and ill educated, to ſuſtain the weight of the monarchy: but, having intruſted the government to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeu, a woman of ſpirit and capacity, the French power ſuffered no check or decline. On the contrary, this princeſs formed the great project, which at laſt ſhe happily effected, of uniting to the crown Brittany, the laſt and moſt independent fief of the monarchy.

STATE OF BRITTANY.

FRANCIS II duke of Brittany, conſcious of his own incapacity for government, had reſigned himſelf to the direction of Peter Landais, a man of mean birth, more remarkable for abilities than for virtue or integrity. The nobles of Brittany, diſpleaſed with the great advancement of this favourite, had even proceeded to diſaffection againſt their ſovereign; and, after many tumults and diſorders, they at laſt united among themſelves, and in a violent manner ſeized, tried, and put to death, the obnoxious miniſter. Dreading the reſentment of the prince for this invaſion of his authority, many of them retired to France; others, for protection and ſafety, maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the French miniſtry, who, obſerving the great diſſenſions among the Bretons, thought the opportunity favourable for invading the duchy; and ſo much the rather, as they could cover their ambition under the ſpecious pretence of providing for domeſtic ſecurity.

Lewis duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, and preſumptive heir of the monarchy, had diſputed the adminiſtration with the lady of Beaujeu; and, though his pretenſions had been rejected by the ſtates, he ſtill maintained cabals with many of the grandees, and laid ſchemes for ſubverting the authority of that princeſs. Finding his conſpiracies detected, he took to arms, and fortified himſelf in Beaugenci; but, as his revolt was precipitate, before his confederates were ready to join him he had been obliged to ſubmit, and to receive ſuch conditions as the French miniſtry were pleaſed to impoſe upon him. Actuated, however, by his ambition, and even by his fears, he ſoon retired out of France, and took ſhelter with the duke of Brittany, who was deſirous of ſtrengthening himſelf againſt the deſigns of the

lady of Beaujeu by the friendſhip and credit of the duke of Orleans. This latter prince alſo, perceiving the aſcendant which he ſoon acquired over the duke of Brittany, had engaged many of his partiſans to join him at that court, and had formed the deſign of aggrandiſing himſelf by a marriage with Anne, the heir of that opulent duchy.

FRENCH INVASION OF BRITTANY.

THE barons of Brittany, who ſaw all favour engroſſed by the duke of Orleans and his train, renewed a ſtricter correſpondence with France, and even invited the French king to make an invaſion on their country. Deſirous, however, of preſerving its independency, they had regulated the number of ſuccours which France was to ſend them, and had ſtipulated that no fortified place in Brittany ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of that monarchy. A vain precaution, where revolted ſubjects treat with a power ſo much ſuperior! The French invaded Brittany with forces three times more numerous than thoſe which they had promiſed to the barons; and, advancing into the heart of the country, laid ſiege to Ploermel. To oppoſe them, the duke raiſed a numerous but ill diſciplined army, which he put under the command of the duke of Orleans, the count of Dunois, and others of the French nobility. The army, diſcontented with his choice, and jealous of their confederates, ſoon diſbanded, and left their prince with too ſmall a force to keep the field againſt his invaders. He retired to Vannes; but, being hotly purſued by the French, who had now made themſelves maſters of Ploermel, he eſcaped to Nantz; and the enemy, having previouſly taken and garriſoned Vannes, Dinant, and other places, laid cloſe ſiege to that city. The barons of Brittany, finding their country menaced with total ſubjection, began gradually to

withdraw from the French army, and to make peace with their ſovereign.

This deſertion, however, of the Bretons diſcouraged not the court of France from purſuing her favourite project of reducing Brittany to ſubjection. The ſituation of Europe appeared favourable to the execution of this deſign. Maximilian was indeed engaged in cloſe alliance with the duke of Brittany, and had even opened a treaty for marrying his daughter; but he was on all occaſions ſo indigent, and at that time ſo diſquieted by the mutinies of the Flemings, that little effectual aſſiſtance could be expected from him. Ferdinand was entirely occupied in the conqueſt of Granada; and it was alſo known that, if France would reſign to him Rouſillon and Cerdagne, to which he had pretenſions, ſhe could at any time engage him to abandon the intereſt of Brittany. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her intereſts, to ſupport the independency of that duchy; and the moſt dangerous oppoſition was therefore, by Anne of Beaujeu, expected from that quarter. In order to cover her real deſigns, no ſooner was ſhe informed of Henry's ſucceſs againſt Simnel and his partiſans, than ſhe diſpatched ambaſſadors to the court of London, and made profeſſions of the greateſt truſt and confidence in that monarch.

FRENCH EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

The ambaſſadors, after congratulating Henry on his late victory, and communicating to him, in the moſt cordial manner, as to an intimate friend, ſome ſucceſſes of their maſter againſt Maximilian, came in the progreſs of their diſcourſe to mention the late tranſactions in Brittany. They told him that, the duke having given protection to French fugitives and rebels, the king had been neceſſitated, contrary to his intention and inclination,

to carry war into that duchy: that the honour of the crown was intereſted not to ſuffer a vaſſal ſo far to forget his duty to his liege lord; nor was the ſecurity of the government leſs concerned to prevent the conſequences of this dangerous temerity: that the fugitives were no mean or obſcure perſons; but, among others, the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who, finding himſelf obnoxious to juſtice for treaſonable practices in France, had fled into Brittany, where he ſtill perſevered in laying ſchemes of rebellion againſt his ſovereign: that the war being thus, on the part of the French monarch, entirely defenſive, it would immediately ceaſe when the duke of Brittany, by returning to his duty, ſhould remove the cauſes of it: that their maſter was ſenſible of the obligations which the duke in very critical times had conferred on Henry; but it was known alſo that, in times ſtill more critical, he or his mercenary counſellors had deſerted him, and put his life in the utmoſt hazard: that his ſole refuge in theſe deſperate extremities had been the court of France, which not only protected his perſon, but ſupplied him with men and money, with which, aided by his own valour and conduct, he had been enabled to mount the throne of England: that France in this tranſaction had, from friendſhip to Henry, acted contrary to what, in a narrow view, might be eſteemed her own intereſt; ſince, inſtead of an odious tyrant, ſhe had contributed to eſtabliſh on a rival throne a prince endowed with ſuch virtue and abilities: and that, as both the juſtice of the cauſe and the obligations conferred on Henry thus preponderated on the ſide of France, ſhe reaſonably expected that, if the ſituation of his affairs did not permit him to give her aſſiſtance, he would at leaſt preſerve a neutrality between the contending parties.[q]

This diſcourſe of the French ambaſſadors was plauſible; and, to give it greater weight, they communicated to Henry, as in

confidence, their maſter's intention, after he ſhould have ſettled the differences with Brittany, to lead an army into Italy, and make good his pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples: a project which they knew would give no umbrage to the court of England. But all theſe artifices were in vain employed againſt the penetration of the king. He clearly ſaw that France had entertained the view of ſubduing Brittany; but he alſo perceived that ſhe would meet with great, and, as he thought, inſuperable difficulties in the execution of her project. The native force of that duchy, he knew, had always been conſiderable, and had often, without any foreign aſſiſtance, reſiſted the power of France; the natural temper of the French nation, he imagined, would make them eaſily abandon any enterpriſe which required perſeverance; and, as the heir of the crown was confederated with the duke of Brittany, the miniſters would be ſtill more remiſs in proſecuting a ſcheme which muſt draw on them his reſentment and diſpleaſure. Should even theſe internal obſtructions be removed, Maximilian, whoſe enmity to France was well known, and who now paid his addreſſes to the heireſs of Brittany, would be able to make a diverſion on the ſide of Flanders; nor could it be expected that France, if ſhe proſecuted ſuch ambitious projects, would be allowed to remain in tranquillity by Ferdinand and Iſabella. Above all, he thought the French court could never expect that England, ſo deeply intereſted to preſerve the independency of Brittany, ſo able by her power and ſituation to give effectual and prompt aſſiſtance, would permit ſuch an acceſſion of force to her rival. He imagined, therefore, that the miniſters of France, convinced of the impracticability of their ſcheme, would at laſt embrace pacific views, and would abandon an enterpriſe ſo obnoxious to all the potentates of Europe.

DISSIMULATION OF THE FRENCH COURT.

THIS reaſoning of Henry was ſolid, and might juſtly engage him in dilatory and cautious meaſures: but there entered into his conduct another motive, which was apt to draw him beyond the juſt bounds, becauſe founded on a ruling paſſion. His frugality, which by degrees degenerated into avarice, made him averſe to all warlike enterpriſes and diſtant expeditions, and engaged him previouſly to try the expedient of negociation. He diſpatched Urſwic his almoner, a man of addreſs and abilities, to make offer of his mediation to the contending parties: an offer which he thought, if accepted by France, would ſoon lead to a compoſure of all differences; if refuſed or eluded, would at leaſt diſcover the perſeverance of that court in her ambitious projects. Urſwic found the lady of Beaujeu, now ducheſs of Bourbon, engaged in the ſiege of Nantz, and had the ſatisfaction to find that his maſter's offer of mediation was readily embraced, and with many expreſſions of confidence and moderation. That able princeſs concluded that the duke of Orleans, who governed the court of Brittany, foreſeeing that every accommodation muſt be made at his expenſe, would uſe all his intereſt to have Henry's propoſal rejected; and would by that means make an apology for the French meaſures, and draw on the Bretons the reproach of obſtinacy and injuſtice. The event juſtified her prudence. When the Engliſh ambaſſador made the ſame offer to the duke of Brittany, he received for anſwer, in the name of that prince, that, having ſo long acted the part of protector and guardian to Henry during his youth and adverſe fortune, he had expected, from a monarch of ſuch virtue, more effectual aſſiſtance in his preſent diſtreſſes than a barren offer of mediation, which ſuſpended not the progreſs of the French arms: that, if Henry's

gratitude were not ſufficient to engage him in ſuch a meaſure, his prudence, as king of England, ſhould diſcover to him the pernicious conſequences attending the conqueſt of Brittany, and its annexation to the crown of France: that that kingdom, already too powerful, would be enabled, by ſo great an acceſſion of force, to diſplay, to the ruin of England, that hoſtile diſpoſition which had always ſubſiſted between thoſe rival nations: that Brittany, ſo uſeful an ally, which by its ſituation gave the Engliſh an entrance into the heart of France, being annexed to that kingdom, would be equally enabled, from its ſituation, to diſturb, either by piracies or naval armaments, the commerce and peace of England: and that, if the duke rejected Henry's mediation, it proceeded neither from an inclination to a war, which he experienced to be ruinous to him, nor from a confidence in his own force, which he knew to be much inferior to that of the enemy; but, on the contrary, from a ſenſe of his preſent neceſſities, which muſt engage the king to act the part of his confederate, not that of a mediator.

When this anſwer was reported to the king, he abandoned not the plan which he had formed; he only concluded that ſome more time was requiſite to quell the obſtinacy of the Bretons, and make them ſubmit to reaſon. And, when he learned that the people of Brittany, anxious for their duke's ſafety, had formed a tumultuary army of ſixty thouſand men, and had obliged the French to raiſe the ſiege of Nantz, he fortified himſelf the more in his opinion that the court of France would at laſt be reduced, by multiplied obſtacles and difficulties, to abandon the project of reducing Brittany to ſubjection. He continued therefore his ſcheme of negociation, and thereby expoſed himſelf to be deceived by the artifices of the French miniſtry; who, ſtill pretending pacific intentions, ſent lord Bernard Daubigny, a Scotchman of quality, to London, and preſſed Henry

not to be diſcouraged in offering his mediation to the court of Brittany. The king, on his part, diſpatched another embaſſy, conſiſting of Urſwic the abbot of Abingdon, and ſir Richard Tonſtal, who carried new propoſals for an amicable treaty. No effectual ſuccours, meanwhile, were provided for the diſtreſſed Bretons. Lord Woodville, brother to the queen dowager, having aſked leave to raiſe underhand a body of volunteers, and to tranſport them into Brittany, met with a refuſal from the king, who was deſirous of preſerving the appearance of a ſtrict neutrality. That nobleman, however, ſtill perſiſted in his purpoſe. He went over to the Iſle of Wight, of which he was governor; levied a body of four hundred men; and, having at laſt obtained, as is ſuppoſed, the ſecret permiſſion of Henry, ſailed with them to Brittany. This enterpriſe proved fatal to the leader, and brought ſmall relief to the unhappy duke. The Bretons raſhly engaged in a general action with the French at St. Aubin, and were diſcomfited. Woodville and all the Engliſh were put to the ſword, together with a body of Bretons, who had been accoutred in the garb of Engliſhmen in order to ſtrike a greater terror into the French, to whom the martial proweſs of that nation was always formidable.[r] The duke of Orleans, the prince of Orange, and many other perſons of rank, were taken priſoners; and the military force of Brittany was totally broken. The death of the duke, which followed ſoon after, threw affairs into ſtill greater confuſion, and ſeemed to threaten the ſtate with a final ſubjection.

INSURRECTION IN THE NORTH SUPPRESSED.

Though the king did not prepare againſt theſe events, ſo hurtful to the intereſts of England, with ſufficient vigour and precaution, he had not altogether overlooked them. Determined

to maintain a pacific conduct, as far as the ſituation of affairs would permit, he yet knew the warlike temper of his ſubjects, and obſerved that their ancient and inveterate animoſity to France was now revived by the proſpect of this great acceſſion to her power and grandeur. He reſolved therefore to make advantage of this diſpoſition, and draw ſome ſupplies from the people, on pretence of giving aſſiſtance to the duke of Brittany. He had ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter;[s] and he ſoon perſuaded them to grant him a conſiderable ſubſidy.[t] But this ſupply, though voted by parliament, involved the king in unexpected difficulties. The counties of Durham and York, always diſcontented with Henry's government, and farther provoked by the late oppreſſions, under which they had laboured after the ſuppreſſion of Simnel's rebellion, reſiſted the commiſſioners who were appointed to levy the tax. The commiſſioners, terrified with this appearance of ſedition, made application to the earl of Northumberland, and deſired of him advice and aſſiſtance in the execution of their office. That nobleman thought the matter of importance enough to conſult the king; who, unwilling to yield to the humours of a diſcontented populace, and foreſeeing the pernicious conſequence of ſuch a precedent, renewed his orders for ſtrictly levying the impoſition. Northumberland ſummoned together the juſtices and chief freeholders, and delivered the king's commands in the moſt imperious terms, which he thought would enforce obedience, but which tended only to provoke the people, and make them believe him the adviſer of thoſe orders which he delivered to them.[u] They flew to arms, attacked Northumberland in his houſe, and put him to death. Having incurred ſuch deep guilt, their mutinous humour prompted them to declare againſt the king himſelf; and, being inſtigated by John Achamber, a ſeditious fellow of low birth, they choſe ſir John Egremond their leader, and prepared themſelves for a

vigorous reſiſtance. Henry was not diſmayed with an inſurrection ſo precipitate and ill ſupported. He immediately levied a force, which he put under the command of the earl of Surrey, whom he had freed from confinement, and received into favour. His intention was to ſend down theſe troops, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels, while he himſelf ſhould follow with a greater body, which would abſolutely enſure ſucceſs. But Surrey thought himſelf ſtrong enough to encounter alone a raw and unarmed multitude; and he ſucceeded in the attempt. The rebels were diſſipated; John Achamber was taken priſoner, and afterwards executed with ſome of his accomplices; ſir John Egremond fled to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who gave him protection; the greater number of the rebels received a pardon.

FORCES SENT INTO BRITTANY. 1489.

Henry had probably expected, when he obtained this grant from parliament, that he ſhould be able to terminate the affair of Brittany by negociation, and that he might thereby fill his coffers with the money levied by the impoſition. But, as the diſtreſſes of the Bretons ſtill multiplied, and became every day more urgent, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of taking more vigorous meaſures, in order to ſupport them. On the death of the duke, the French had revived ſome antiquated claims to the dominion of the duchy; and, as the duke of Orleans was now captive in France, their former pretence for hoſtilities could no longer ſerve as a cover to their ambition. The king reſolved, therefore, to engage as auxiliary to Brittany, and to conſult the intereſts as well as deſires of his people, by oppoſing himſelf to the progreſs of the French power. Beſides entering into a league with Maximilian, and another with Ferdinand, which were diſtant reſources, he levied a body of

troops, to the number of ſix thouſand men, with an intention of tranſporting them into Brittany. Still anxious, however, for the repayment of his expenſes, he concluded a treaty with the young ducheſs, by which ſhe engaged to deliver into his hands two ſeaport towns, there to remain till ſhe ſhould entirely refund the charges of the armament.* Though he engaged for the ſervice of theſe troops during the ſpace of ten months only, yet was the ducheſs obliged, by the neceſſity of her affairs, to ſubmit to ſuch rigid conditions, impoſed by an ally ſo much concerned in intereſt to protect her. The forces arrived under the command of lord Willoughby of Broke; and made the Bretons, during ſome time, maſters of the field. The French retired into their garriſons; and expected, by dilatory meaſures, to waſte the fire of the Engliſh, and diſguſt them with the enterpriſe. The ſcheme was well laid, and met with ſucceſs. Lord Broke found ſuch diſcord and confuſion in the counſels of Brittany, that no meaſures could be concerted for any undertaking; no ſupply obtained; no proviſions, carriages, artillery, or military ſtores, procured. The whole court was rent into factions; no one miniſter had acquired the aſcendant; and whatever project was formed by one was ſure to be traverſed by another. The Engliſh, diſconcerted in every enterpriſe by theſe animoſities and uncertain counſels, returned home as ſoon as the time of their ſervice was elapſed, leaving only a ſmall garriſon in thoſe towns which had been conſigned into their hands. During their ſtay in Brittany they had only contributed ſtill farther to waſte the country, and by their departure they left it entirely at the mercy of the enemy. So feeble was the ſuccour which Henry, in this important conjuncture, afforded his ally, whom the invaſion of a foreign enemy, concurring with domeſtic diſſenſions, had reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

The great object of the domeſtic diſſenſions in Brittany was the diſpoſal of the young ducheſs in marriage. The mareſchal Rieux, favoured by Henry, ſeconded the ſuit of the lord d'Albret, who led ſome forces to her aſſiſtance. The chancellor Montauban, obſerving the averſion of the ducheſs to this ſuitor, inſiſted that a petty prince, ſuch as d'Albret, was unable to ſupport Anne in her preſent extremities; and he recommended ſome more powerful alliance, particularly that of Maximilian king of the Romans. This party at laſt prevailed; the marriage with Maximilian was celebrated by proxy, and the ducheſs thenceforth aſſumed the title of queen of the Romans. But this magnificent appellation was all ſhe gained by her marriage. Maximilian, deſtitute of troops and money, and embarraſſed with the continual revolts of the Flemings, could ſend no ſuccour to his diſtreſſed conſort; while d'Albret, enraged at the preference given to his rival, deſerted her cauſe, and received the French into Nantz, the moſt important place in the duchy, both for ſtrength and riches.

The French court now began to change their ſcheme with regard to the ſubjection of Brittany. Charles had formerly been affianced to Margaret daughter of Maximilian; who, though too young for the conſummation of her marriage, had been ſent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Beſides the rich dowry which ſhe brought the king, ſhe was, after her brother Philip, then in early youth, heir to all the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy; and ſeemed, in many reſpects, the moſt proper match that could be choſen for the young monarch. Theſe circumſtances had ſo blinded both Maximilian and Henry, that they never ſuſpected any other intentions in the French court; nor were they able to diſcover that engagements, ſeemingly ſo advantageous, and ſo ſolemnly entered into, could be infringed and ſet aſide. But Charles be-

gan to perceive that the conqueſt of Brittany, in oppoſition to the natives, and to all the great powers of Chriſtendom, would prove a difficult enterpriſe; and that, even if he ſhould overrun the country, and make himſelf maſter of the fortreſſes, it would be impoſſible for him long to retain poſſeſſion of them. The marriage alone of the ducheſs could fully reannex that fief to the crown; and the preſent and certain enjoyment of ſo conſiderable a territory ſeemed preferable to the proſpect of inheriting the dominions of the houſe of Burgundy; a proſpect which became every day more diſtant and precarious. Above all, the marriage of Maximilian and Anne appeared deſtructive to the grandeur, and even ſecurity, of the French monarch; while that prince, poſſeſſing Flanders on the one hand and Brittany on the other, might thus, from both quarters, make inroads into the heart of the country. The only remedy for theſe evils was therefore concluded to be the diſſolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated, but not conſummated, and the eſpouſal of the ducheſs of Brittany by the king of France.

It was neceſſary that this expedient, which had not been foreſeen by any court in Europe, and which they were all ſo much intereſted to oppoſe, ſhould be kept a profound ſecret, and ſhould be diſcovered to the world only by the full execution of it. The meaſures of the French miniſtry in the conduct of this delicate enterpriſe were wiſe and political. While they preſſed Brittany with all the rigours of war they ſecretly gained the count of Dunois, who poſſeſſed great authority with the Bretons; and, having alſo engaged in their intereſts the prince of Orange, couſin-german to the ducheſs, they gave him his liberty, and ſent him into Brittany. Theſe partiſans, ſupported by other emiſſaries of France, prepared the minds of men for the great revolution projected, and diſplayed, though ſtill with many precautions, all the advantages of a union with the French mo-

narchy. They repreſented to the barons of Brittany that their country, haraſſed during ſo many years with perpetual war, had need of ſome repoſe, and of a ſolid and laſting peace with the only power that was formidable to them: that their alliance with Maximilian was not able to afford them even preſent protection; and, by cloſely uniting them to a power which was rival to the greatneſs of France, fixed them in perpetual enmity with that potent monarchy: that their vicinity expoſed them firſt to the inroads of the enemy; and the happieſt event which, in ſuch a ſituation, could befall them, would be to attain a peace, though by a final ſubjection to France, and by the loſs of that liberty tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors: and that any other expedient, compatible with the honour of the ſtate, and their duty to their ſovereign, was preferable to a ſcene of ſuch diſorder and devaſtation.

BRITTANY ANNEXED TO FRANCE. 1491.

THESE ſuggeſtions had influence with the Bretons: but the chief difficulty lay in ſurmounting the prejudices of the young ducheſs herſelf. That princeſs had imbibed a ſtrong prepoſſeſſion againſt the French nation, particularly againſt Charles, the author of all the calamities which, from her earlieſt infancy, had befallen her family. She had alſo fixed her affections on Maximilian; and, as ſhe now deemed him her huſband, ſhe could not, ſhe thought, without incurring the greateſt guilt and violating the moſt ſolemn engagements, contract a marriage with any other perſon. In order to overcome her obſtinacy, Charles gave the duke of Orleans his liberty; who, though formerly a ſuitor to the ducheſs, was now contented to ingratiate himſelf with the king, by employing in his favour all the intereſt which he ſtill poſſeſſed in Brittany. Mareſchal Rieux and chancellor Montauban were re-

conciled by his mediation; and theſe rival miniſters now concurred with the prince of Orange and the count of Dunois in preſſing the concluſion of a marriage with Charles. By their ſuggeſtion Charles advanced with a powerful army, and inveſted Rennes, at that time the reſidence of the ducheſs; who, aſſailed on all hands, and finding none to ſupport her in her inflexibility, at laſt opened the gates of the city, and agreed to eſpouſe the king of France. She was married at Langey in Touraine; conducted to St. Denis, where ſhe was crowned; thence made her entry into Paris amidſt the joyful acclamations of the people, who regarded this marriage as the moſt proſperous event that could have befallen the monarchy.

The triumph and ſucceſs of Charles was the moſt ſenſible mortification to the king of the Romans. He had loſt a conſiderable territory, which he thought he had acquired, and an accompliſhed princeſs, whom he had eſpouſed; he was affronted in the perſon of his daughter Margaret, who was ſent back to him after ſhe had been treated, during ſome years, as queen of France; he had reaſon to reproach himſelf with his own ſupine ſecurity in neglecting the conſummation of his marriage, which was eaſily practicable for him, and which would have rendered the tie indiſſoluble. Theſe conſiderations threw him into the moſt violent rage, which he vented in very indecent expreſſions; and he threatened France with an invaſion from the united arms of Auſtria, Spain, and England.

The king of England had alſo juſt reaſon to reproach himſelf with miſconduct in this important tranſaction; and, though the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not preciſely foreſee, his negligence in leaving his moſt uſeful ally ſo long expoſed to the invaſion of ſuperior power could not but appear, on reflection, the reſult of timid caution and narrow politics. As he valued himſelf on his extenſive foreſight and profound

judgment, the aſcendant acquired over him by a raw youth, ſuch as Charles, could not but give him the higheſt diſpleaſure, and prompt him to ſeek vengeance after all remedy for his miſcarriage was become abſolutely impracticable. But he was farther actuated by avarice, a motive ſtill more predominant with him than either pride or revenge; and he ſought, even from his preſent diſappointments, the gratification of this ruling paſſion. On pretence of a French war, he iſſued a commiſſion for levying a 'benevolence' on his people;[y] a ſpecies of taxation which had been aboliſhed by a recent law of Richard III. This violence (for ſuch it really was) fell chiefly on the commercial part of the nation, who were poſſeſſed of the ready money. London alone contributed to the amount of near ten thouſand pounds. Archbiſhop Moreton, the chancellor, inſtructed the commiſſioners to employ a dilemma, in which every one might be comprehended. If the perſons applied to lived frugally, they were told that their parſimony muſt neceſſarily have enriched them; if their method of living was ſplendid and hoſpitable, they were concluded to be opulent on account of their expenſes. This device was by ſome called chancellor Moreton's fork, by others his crutch.

A PARLIAMENT.

So little apprehenſive was the king of a parliament on account of his levying this arbitrary impoſition, that he ſoon after ſummoned that aſſembly to meet at Weſtminſter; and he even expected to enrich himſelf farther by working on their paſſions and prejudices. He knew the diſpleaſure which the Engliſh had conceived againſt France on account of the acquiſition of Brittany; and he took care to inſiſt on that topic in the ſpeech which he himſelf pronounced to the parliament. He told them

that France, elated with her late ſucceſſes, had even proceeded to a contempt of England, and had refuſed to pay the tribute which Lewis XI had ſtipulated to Edward IV: that it became ſo warlike a nation as the Engliſh to be rouſed by this indignity, and not to limit their pretenſions merely to repelling the preſent injury: that, for his part, he was determined to lay claim to the crown itſelf of France, and to maintain by force of arms ſo juſt a title, tranſmitted to him by his gallant anceſtors: that Creſſy, Poictiers, and Azincour, were ſufficient to inſtruct them in their ſuperiority over the enemy; nor did he deſpair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue: that a king of France had been priſoner in London, and a king of England had been crowned at Paris; events which ſhould animate them to an emulation of like glory with that which had been enjoyed by their forefathers: that the domeſtic diſſenſions of England had been the ſole cauſe of her loſing theſe foreign dominions, and her preſent internal union would be the effectual means of recovering them: that, where ſuch laſting honour was in view, and ſuch an important acquiſition, it became not brave men to repine at the advance of a little treaſure: and that, for his part, he was determined to make the war maintain itſelf; and hoped, by the invaſion of ſo opulent a kingdom as France, to increaſe, rather than diminiſh, the riches of the nation.[z]

Notwithſtanding theſe magnificent vaunts of the king, all men of penetration concluded, from the perſonal character of the man, and ſtill more from the ſituation of affairs, that he had no ſerious intention of puſhing the war to ſuch extremities as he pretended. France was not now in the ſame condition as when ſuch ſucceſsful inroads had been made upon her by former kings of England. The great fiefs were united to the crown; the princes of the blood were deſirous of tranquillity; the nation abounded with able captains and veteran ſoldiers; and the

general aſpect of her affairs ſeemed rather to threaten her neighbours than to promiſe them any conſiderable advantages againſt her. The levity and vain glory of Maximilian were ſupported by his pompous titles; but were ill ſeconded by military power, and ſtill leſs by any revenue proportioned to them. The politic Ferdinand, while he made a ſhew of war, was actually negociating for peace; and, rather than expoſe himſelf to any hazard, would accept of very moderate conceſſions from France. Even England was not free from domeſtic diſcontents; and in Scotland the death of Henry's friend and ally James III, who had been murdered by his rebellious ſubjects, had made way for the ſucceſſion of his ſon James IV, who was devoted to the French intereſt, and would ſurely be alarmed at any important progreſs of the Engliſh arms. But all theſe obvious conſiderations had no influence on the parliament. Inflamed by the ideas of ſubduing France, and of enriching themſelves by the ſpoils of that kingdom, they gave into the ſnare prepared for them, and voted the ſupply which the king demanded. Two fifteenths were granted him; and, the better to enable his vaſſals and nobility to attend him, an act was paſſed, empowering them to ſell their eſtates without paying any fines for alienation.

WAR WITH AND INVASION OF FRANCE. 1492.

The nobility were univerſally ſeized with a deſire of military glory; and, having credulouſly ſwallowed all the boaſts of the king, they dreamed of no leſs than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their ſovereign. Many of them borrowed large ſums, or ſold off manors, that they might appear in the field with greater ſplendour, and lead out their followers in more complete order. The king croſſed the ſea, and arrived at Calais

on the ſixth of October, with an army of twenty-five thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, which he put under the command of the duke of Bedford and the earl of Oxford: but, as ſome inferred, from his opening the campaign in ſo late a ſeaſon, that peace would ſoon be concluded between the crowns, he was deſirous of ſuggeſting a contrary inference. 'He had come over,' he ſaid, 'to make an entire conqueſt of France, which was not the work of one ſummer. It was therefore of no conſequence at what ſeaſon he began the invaſion, eſpecially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters.' As if he had ſeriouſly intended this enterpriſe, he inſtantly marched into the enemy's country, and laid ſiege to Bulloigne: but, notwithſtanding this appearance of hoſtility, there had been ſecret advances made towards peace above three months before, and commiſſioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The better to reconcile the minds of men to this unexpected meaſure, the king's ambaſſadors arrived in the camp from the Low Countries, and informed him that Maximilian was in no readineſs to join him, nor was any aſſiſtance to be expected from that quarter. Soon after meſſengers came from Spain, and brought news of a peace concluded between that kingdom and France, in which Charles had made a ceſſion of the counties of Rouſſillon and Cerdagne to Ferdinand. Though theſe articles of intelligence were carefully diſperſed throughout the army, the king was ſtill apprehenſive leſt a ſudden peace, after ſuch magnificent promiſes and high expectations, might expoſe him to reproach. In order the more effectually to cover the intended meaſures, he ſecretly engaged the marquis of Dorſet, together with twenty-three perſons of diſtinction, to preſent him a petition for agreeing to a treaty with France. The pretence was founded on the late ſeaſon of the year, the difficulty of ſupplying the army at Calais during winter, the obſtacles which aroſe in the ſiege of Bulloigne,

the defertion of thofe allies whofe affiftance had been moft relied on; events which might all of them have been foreſeen before the embarkation of the forces.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.

In conſequence of theſe preparatory ſteps, the biſhop of Exeter and lord Daubeny were ſent to confer at Eſtaples with the mareſchal de Cordes, and to put the laſt hand to the treaty. A few days ſufficed for that purpoſe: the demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable poſſeſſion of Brittany an equivalent for any ſum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the propoſals made him. He engaged to pay Henry ſeven hundred and forty-five thouſand crowns, near four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling of our preſent money; partly as a reimburſement of the ſums advanced to Brittany, partly as arrears of the penſion due to Edward IV. And he ſtipulated a yearly penſion to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thouſand crowns. Thus the king, as remarked by his hiſtorian, made profit upon his ſubjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace.[a] And the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promiſe when he ſaid to the parliament that he would make the war maintain itſelf. Maximilian was, if he pleaſed, comprehended in Henry's treaty; but he diſdained to be in any reſpect beholden to an ally of whom he thought he had reaſon to complain: he made a ſeparate peace with France, and obtained reſtitution of Artois, Franche-Compte, and Charolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter when ſhe was affianced to the king of France.

The peace concluded between England and France was the more likely to continue becauſe Charles, full of ambition and

youthful hopes, bent all his attention to the ſide of Italy, and ſoon after undertook the conqueſt of Naples; an enterpriſe which Henry regarded with the greater indifference as Naples lay remote from him, and France had never in any age been ſucceſsful in that quarter. The king's authority was fully eſtabliſhed at home; and every rebellion which had been attempted againſt him had hitherto tended only to confound his enemies, and conſolidate his power and influence. His reputation for policy and conduct was daily augmenting; his treaſures had increaſed even from the moſt unfavourable events; the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage as by the iſſue which it had brought him. In this proſperous ſituation the king had reaſon to flatter himſelf with the proſpect of durable peace and tranquillity: but his inveterate and indefatigable enemies, whom he had wantonly provoked, raiſed him an adverſary, who long kept him in inquietude, and ſometimes even brought him into danger.

The ducheſs of Burgundy, full of reſentment for the depreſſion of her family and its partiſans, rather irritated than diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of her paſt enterpriſes, was determined at leaſt to diſturb that government which ſhe found it ſo difficult to ſubvert. By means of her emiſſaries ſhe propagated a report that her nephew Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had eſcaped from the tower when his elder brother was murdered, and that he ſtill lay ſomewhere concealed: and, finding this rumour, however improbable, to be greedily received by the people, ſhe had been looking out for ſome young man proper to perſonate that unfortunate prince.

PERKIN WARBEC'S IMPOSTURE.

THERE was one Oſbec, or Warbec, a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had been carried by ſome buſineſs to London in the reign

of Edward IV, and had there a ſon born to him. Having had opportunities of being known to the king, and obtaining his favour, he prevailed with that prince, whoſe manners were very affable, to ſtand godfather to his ſon, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemiſh manner, into Peterkin, or Perkin. It was by ſome believed that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a ſecret commerce with Warbec's wife; and people thence accounted for that reſemblance which was afterwards remarked between young Perkin and that monarch.[b] Some years after the birth of this child Warbec returned to Tournay; where Perkin his ſon did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, and his birth and fortunes became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the moſt diligent inquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural verſatility and ſagacity of his genius; and he ſeemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or aſſume any character. In this light he had been repreſented to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who, ſtruck with the concurrence of ſo many circumſtances ſuited to her purpoſe, deſired to be made acquainted with the man on whom ſhe already began to ground her hopes of ſucceſs. She found him to exceed her moſt ſanguine expectations; ſo comely did he appear in his perſon, ſo graceful in his air, ſo courtly in his addreſs, ſo full of docility and good ſenſe in his behaviour and converſation. The leſſons neceſſary to be taught him, in order to his perſonating the duke of York, were ſoon learned by a youth of ſuch quick apprehenſion: but, as the ſeaſon ſeemed not then favourable for his enterpriſe, Margaret, in order the better to conceal him, ſent him, under the care of lady Brampton, into Portugal, where he remained a year unknown to all the world.

The war, which was then ready to break out between France and England, ſeemed to afford a proper opportunity for the

diſcovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachments to the houſe of York, was choſen as the proper place for his firſt appearance.[c] He landed at Corke; and, immediately aſſuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partiſans among that credulous people. He wrote letters to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, inviting them to join his party; he diſperſed every where the ſtrange intelligence of his eſcape from the cruelty of his uncle Richard; and men, fond of every thing new and wonderful, began to make him the general ſubject of their diſcourſe, and even the object of their favour.

The news ſoon reached France; and Charles, prompted by the ſecret ſolicitations of the ducheſs of Burgundy, and the intrigues of one Frion, a ſecretary of Henry's, who had deſerted his ſervice, ſent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the duke of York; ſettled on him a handſome penſion; aſſigned him magnificent lodgings; and, in order to provide at once for his dignity and ſecurity, gave him a guard for his perſon, of which lord Congreſal accepted the office of captain. The French courtiers readily embraced a fiction which their ſovereign thought it his intereſt to adopt. Perkin, both by his deportment and perſonal qualities, ſupported the prepoſſeſſion which was ſpread abroad of his royal pedigree; and the whole kingdom was full of the accompliſhments, as well as the ſingular adventures and misfortunes, of the young Plantagenet. Wonders of this nature are commonly augmented at a diſtance. From France the admiration and credulity diffuſed themſelves into England. Sir George Nevil, ſir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, came to Paris, in order to offer their ſervices to the ſuppoſed duke of York, and to ſhare his fortunes: and the impoſtor had now the appearance of a court attending him, and began to entertain hopes of final ſucceſs in his undertakings.

THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, &c. AVOW WARBEC. 1493.

WHEN peace was concluded between France and England at Eſtaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, reſolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to diſmiſs him. The pretended Richard retired to the ducheſs of Burgundy, and, craving her protection and aſſiſtance, offered to lay before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. The princeſs affected ignorance of his pretenſions; even put on the appearance of diſtruſt; and, having, as ſhe ſaid, been already deceived by Simnel, ſhe was determined never again to be ſeduced by any impoſtor. She deſired before all the world to be inſtructed in his reaſons for aſſuming the name which he bore; ſeemed to examine every circumſtance with the moſt ſcrupulous nicety; put many particular queſtions to him; affected aſtoniſhment at his anſwers; and at laſt, after long and ſevere ſcrutiny, burſt out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance; embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the ſole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne. She immediately aſſigned him an equipage ſuited to his pretended birth; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers; engaged every one to pay court to him; and on all occaſions honoured him with the appellation of the 'White Roſe of England.' The Flemings, moved by the authority which Margaret, both from her rank and perſonal character, enjoyed among them, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal deſcent. No ſurmiſe of his true birth was as yet heard of. Little contradiction was made to the prevailing opinion. And the Engliſh, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepoſſeſſed in favour of the impoſtor.

It was not the populace alone of England that gave credit to Perkin's pretenſions. Men of the higheſt birth and quality, diſguſted at Henry's government, by which they found the nobility depreſſed, began to turn their eyes towards the new claimant; and ſome of them even entered into a correſpondence with him. Lord Fitzwater, ſir Simon Mountfort, ſir Thomas Thwaites, betrayed their inclination towards him. Sir William Stanley himſelf, lord chamberlain, who had been ſo active in raiſing Henry to the throne, moved either by blind credulity or a reſtleſs ambition, entertained the project of a revolt in favour of his enemy.[d] Sir Robert Clifford and William Barley were ſtill more open in their meaſures: they went over to Flanders; were introduced by the ducheſs of Burgundy to the acquaintance of Perkin, and made him a tender of their ſervices. Clifford wrote back to England that he knew perfectly the perſon of Richard duke of York, that this young man was undoubtedly that prince himſelf, and that no circumſtance of his ſtory was expoſed to the leaſt difficulty. Such poſitive intelligence, conveyed by a perſon of rank and character, was ſufficient, with many, to put the matter beyond queſtion, and excited the attention and wonder even of the moſt indifferent. The whole nation was held in ſuſpenſe; a regular conſpiracy was formed againſt the king's authority, and a correſpondence ſettled between the malcontents in Flanders and thoſe in England.

The king was informed of all theſe particulars; but, agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and reſolute, he proceeded deliberately, though ſteadily, in counter-working the projects of his enemies. His firſt object was to aſcertain the death of the real duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Five perſons had been employed by Richard in the murder of his nephews, or could give evidence with regard to it; ſir James Tirrel, to whom

he had committed the government of the tower for that purpoſe, and who had ſeen the dead princes; Forreſt, Dighton, and Slater, who perpetrated the crime; and the prieſt who buried the bodies. Tirrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the ſame ſtory; but, as the prieſt was dead, and as the bodies were ſuppoſed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were firſt interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the fact ſo much as he wiſhed beyond all doubt and controverſy.

He met at firſt with more difficulty, but was in the end more ſucceſsful, in detecting who this wonderful perſon was that thus boldly advanced pretenſions to his crown. He diſperſed his ſpies all over Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he directed them to inſinuate themſelves into the confidence of the young man's friends; in proportion as they conveyed intelligence of any conſpirator, he bribed his retainers, his domeſtic ſervants, nay, ſometimes his confeſſor, and by theſe means traced up ſome other confederate; Clifford himſelf he engaged, by the hope of rewards and pardon, to betray the ſecrets committed to him; the more truſt he gave to any of his ſpies, the higher reſentment did he feign againſt them; ſome of them he even cauſed to be publicly anathematiſed, in order the better to procure them the confidence of his enemies: and, in the iſſue, the whole plan of the conſpiracy was clearly laid before him; and the pedigree, adventures, life, and converſation, of the pretended duke of York. This latter part of the ſtory was immediately publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation; the conſpirators he reſerved for a ſlower and ſurer vengeance.

Meanwhile he remonſtrated with the archduke Philip, on account of the countenance and protection which was afforded in his dominions to ſo infamous an impoſtor; contrary to treaties

ſubſiſting between the ſovereigns, and to the mutual amity which had ſo long been maintained by the ſubjects of both ſtates. Margaret had intereſt enough to get his application rejected, on pretence that Philip had no authority over the demeſnes of the ducheſs dowager: and the king, in reſentment of this injury, cut off all commerce with the Low Countries, baniſhed the Flemings, and recalled his own ſubjects from theſe provinces. Philip retaliated by like edicts. But Henry knew that ſo mutinous a people as the Flemings would not long bear, in compliance with the humours of their prince, to be deprived of the beneficial branch of commerce which they carried on with England.

He had it in his power to inflict more effectual puniſhment on his domeſtic enemies; and, when his projects were ſufficiently matured, he failed not to make them feel the effects of his reſentment. Almoſt in the ſame inſtant he arreſted Fitzwater, Mountfort, and Thwaites, together with William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſtwood. All theſe were arraigned, convicted, and condemned, for high treaſon, in adhering and promiſing aid to Perkin. Mountfort, Ratcliff, and Daubeney, were immediately executed: Fitzwater was ſent over to Calais, and detained in cuſtody; but, being detected in practiſing on his keeper for an eſcape, he ſoon after underwent the ſame fate. The reſt were pardoned, together with William Worſeley, dean of St. Paul's, and ſome others, who had been accuſed and examined,[e] but not brought to public trial.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF STANLEY. 1494.

GREATER and more ſolemn preparations were deemed requiſite for the trial of Stanley, lord chamberlain; whoſe authority in the nation, whoſe domeſtic connexions with the king, as well as his former ſervices, ſeemed to ſecure him againſt any accuſa-

tion or puniſhment. Clifford was directed to come over privately to England, and to throw himſelf at the king's feet while he ſat in council; craving pardon for paſt offences, and offering to atone for them by any ſervices which ſhould be required of him. Henry then told him that the beſt proof he could give of penitence, and the only ſervice he could now render him, was the full confeſſion of his guilt, and the diſcovery of all his accomplices, however diſtinguiſhed by rank or character. Encouraged by this exhortation, Clifford accuſed Stanley, then preſent, as his chief abettor; and offered to lay before the council the full proof of his guilt. Stanley himſelf could not diſcover more ſurpriſe than was affected by Henry on the occaſion. He received the intelligence as abſolutely falſe and incredible; that a man, to whom he was in a great meaſure beholden for his crown, and even for his life; a man to whom by every honour and favour he had endeavoured to expreſs his gratitude; whoſe brother, the earl of Derby, was his own father-in-law; to whom he had even committed the truſt of his perſon by creating him lord chamberlain; that this man, enjoying his full confidence and affection, not actuated by any motive of diſcontent or apprehenſion, ſhould engage in a conſpiracy againſt him. Clifford was therefore exhorted to weigh well the conſequences of his accuſation: but, as he perſiſted in the ſame poſitive aſſeverations, Stanley was committed to cuſtody, and was ſoon after examined before the council.[f] He denied not the guilt imputed to him by Clifford; he did not even endeavour much to extenuate it; whether he thought that a frank and open confeſſion would ſerve as an atonement, or truſted to his preſent connexions and his former ſervices for pardon and ſecurity. But princes are often apt to regard great ſervices as a ground of jealouſy, eſpecially if accompanied with a craving and reſtleſs diſpoſition in the perſon who has performed them. The general diſcontent alſo

CLIFFORD ACCUSING STANLEY.

and mutinous humour, of the people ſeemed to require ſome great example of ſeverity. And, as Stanley was one of the moſt opulent ſubjects in the kingdom, being poſſeſſed of above three thouſand pounds a year in land, and forty thouſand marks in plate and money, beſides other property of great value, the proſpect of ſo rich a forfeiture was deemed no ſmall motive for Henry's proceeding to extremities againſt him. After ſix weeks delay, which was interpoſed in order to ſhew that the king was reſtrained by doubts and ſcruples, the priſoner was brought to his trial, condemned, and preſently after beheaded. Hiſtorians are not agreed with regard to the crime which was proved againſt him. The general report is that he ſhould have ſaid, in confidence to Clifford, that, if he were ſure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really ſon to king Edward, he never would bear arms againſt him. The ſentiment might diſguſt Henry, as implying a preference of the houſe of York to that of Lancaſter; but could ſcarcely be the ground, even in thoſe arbitrary times, of a ſentence of high treaſon againſt Stanley. It is more probable, therefore, as is aſſerted by ſome hiſtorians, that he had expreſsly engaged to aſſiſt Perkin, and had actually ſent him ſome ſupply of money.

The fate of Stanley made great impreſſion on the kingdom, and ſtruck all the partiſans of Perkin with the deepeſt diſmay. From Clifford's deſertion they found that all their ſecrets were betrayed; and, as it appeared that Stanley, while he ſeemed to live in the greateſt confidence with the king, had been continually ſurrounded by ſpies, who reported and regiſtered every action in which he was engaged, nay, every word which fell from him, a general diſtruſt took place, and all mutual confidence was deſtroyed, even among intimate friends and acquaintance. The jealous and ſevere temper of the king, together with his great reputation for ſagacity and penetration, kept men in

awe, and quelled not only the movements of ſedition, but the very murmurs of faction. Libels, however, crept out againſt Henry's perſon and adminiſtration; and, being greedily propagated by every ſecret art, ſhewed that there ſtill remained among the people a conſiderable root of diſcontent, which wanted only a proper opportunity to diſcover itſelf.

But Henry continued more intent on increaſing the terrors of his people than on gaining their affections. Truſting to the great ſucceſs which attended him in all his enterpriſes, he gave every day more and more a looſe to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and juſtice, in order to exact fines and compoſitions from his people. Sir William Capel, alderman of London, was condemned on ſome penal ſtatutes to pay the ſum of two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-three pounds, and was obliged to compound for ſixteen hundred and fifteen. This was the firſt noted caſe of the kind; but it became a precedent, which prepared the way for many others. The management, indeed, of theſe arts of chicanery was the great ſecret of the king's adminiſtration. While he depreſſed the nobility, he exalted and honoured and careſſed the lawyers; and by that means both beſtowed authority on the laws, and was enabled, whenever he pleaſed, to pervert them to his own advantage. His government was oppreſſive; but it was ſo much the leſs burdenſome, as by his extending royal authority, and curbing the nobles, he became in reality the ſole oppreſſor in his kingdom.

As Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretenſions were becoming obſolete, he reſolved to attempt ſomething which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partiſans. Having collected a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and neceſſitous perſons, of all nations, to the number of ſix hundred men, he put to ſea, with

a reſolution of making a deſcent in England, and of exciting the common people to arms, ſince all his correſpondence with the nobility was cut off by Henry's vigilance and ſeverity. Information being brought him that the king had made a progreſs to the north, he caſt anchor on the coaſt of Kent, and ſent ſome of his retainers aſhore, who invited the country to join him. The gentlemen of Kent aſſembled ſome troops to oppoſe him; but they purpoſed to do more eſſential ſervice than by repelling the invaſion; they carried the ſemblance of friendſhip to Perkin, and invited him to come himſelf aſhore, in order to take the command over them. But the wary youth, obſerving that they had more order and regularity in their movements than could be ſuppoſed in new levied forces who had taken arms againſt eſtabliſhed authority, refuſed to intruſt himſelf into their hands; and the Kentiſh troops, deſpairing of ſucceſs in their ſtratagem, fell upon ſuch of his retainers as were already landed; and, beſides ſome whom they ſlew, they took a hundred and fifty priſoners. Theſe were tried and condemned, and all of them executed by orders from the king, who was reſolved to uſe no lenity towards men of ſuch deſperate fortunes.[g]

A PARLIAMENT. 1495.

This year a parliament was ſummoned in England, and another in Ireland; and ſome remarkable laws were paſſed in both countries. The Engliſh parliament enacted that no perſon, who ſhould, by arms or otherwiſe, aſſiſt the king for the time being, ſhould ever afterwards, either by courſe of law or act of parliament, be attainted for ſuch an inſtance of obedience. This ſtatute might be expoſed to ſome cenſure, as favourable to uſurpers, were there any preciſe rule which always, even during the moſt factious times, could determine the true ſucceſſor, and render every one

inexcuſable who did not ſubmit to him. But, as the titles of princes are then the great ſubject of diſpute, and each party pleads topics in its own favour, it ſeems but equitable to ſecure thoſe who act in ſupport of public tranquillity, an object at all times of undoubted benefit and importance. Henry, conſcious of his diſputed title, promoted this law in order to ſecure his partiſans againſt all events; but, as he had himſelf obſerved a contrary practice with regard to Richard's adherents, he had reaſon to apprehend that, during the violence which uſually enſues on public convulſions, his example rather than his law would, in caſe of a new revolution, be followed by his enemies. And the attempt to bind the legiſlature itſelf, by preſcribing rules to future parliaments, was contradictory to the plaineſt principles of political government.

This parliament alſo paſſed an act, empowering the king to levy, by courſe of law, all the ſums which any perſon had agreed to pay by way of benevolence; a ſtatute by which that arbitrary method of taxation was indirectly authoriſed and juſtified.

The king's authority appeared equally prevalent and uncontrolled in Ireland. Sir Edward Poynings had been ſent over to that country with an intention of quelling the partiſans of the houſe of York, and of reducing the natives to ſubjection. He was not ſupported by forces ſufficient for that enterpriſe. The Iriſh, by flying into their woods and moraſſes and mountains, for ſome time eluded his efforts. But Poynings ſummoned a parliament at Dublin, where he was more ſucceſsful. He paſſed that memorable ſtatute which ſtill bears his name, and which eſtabliſhes the authority of the Engliſh government in Ireland. By this ſtatute all the former laws of England were made to be of force in Ireland; and no bill can be introduced into the Iriſh parliament unleſs it previouſly receive the ſanction of the council of England. This latter clauſe ſeems calculated for enſuring

the dominion of the Engliſh; but was really granted at the deſire of the Iriſh commons, who intended by that means to ſecure themſelves from the tyranny of their lords, particularly of ſuch lieutenants or deputies as were of Iriſh birth.[h]

While Henry's authority was thus eſtabliſhed throughout his dominions, and general tranquillity prevailed, the whole continent was thrown into combuſtion by the French invaſion of Italy, and by the rapid ſucceſs which attended Charles in that raſh and ill concerted enterpriſe. The Italians, who had entirely loſt the uſe of arms, and who, in the midſt of continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were aſtoniſhed to meet an enemy that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament, but a ſcene of blood, and fought, at the hazard of their own lives, the death of their enemy. Their effeminate troops were diſperſed every where on the approach of the French army; their beſt fortified cities opened their gates; kingdoms and ſtates were in an inſtant overturned; and, through the whole length of Italy, which the French penetrated without reſiſtance, they ſeemed rather to be taking quarters in their own country than making conqueſts over an enemy. The maxims, which the Italians during that age followed in negociations, were as ill calculated to ſupport their ſtates as the habits to which they were addicted in war. A treacherous, deceitful, and inconſiſtent, ſyſtem of politics prevailed; and even thoſe ſmall remains of fidelity and honour, which were preſerved in the councils of the other European princes, were ridiculed in Italy as proofs of ignorance and ruſticity. Ludovico duke of Milan, who invited the French to invade Naples, had never deſired or expected their ſucceſs; and was the firſt that felt terror from the proſperous iſſue of thoſe projects which he himſelf had concerted. By his intrigues a league was formed among ſeveral potentates to oppoſe the progreſs of Charles's conqueſts, and ſecure their own independ-

ency. This league was compoſed of Ludovico himſelf, the pope, Maximilian king of the Romans, Ferdinand of Spain, and the republic of Venice. Henry too entered into the confederacy; but was not put to any expenſe or trouble in conſequence of his engagements. The king of France, terrified by ſo powerful a combination, retired from Naples with the greater part of his army, and returned to France. The forces which he left in his new conqueſt were, partly by the revolt of the inhabitants, partly by the invaſion of the Spaniards, ſoon after ſubdued; and the whole kingdom of Naples ſuddenly returned to its allegiance under Ferdinand, ſon to Alphonſo, who had been ſuddenly expelled by the irruption of the French. Ferdinand died ſoon after, and left his uncle Frederic in full poſſeſſion of the throne.

CHAPTER XXVI.

HENRY VII.

PERKIN RETIRES TO SCOTLAND....INSURRECTION IN THE WEST.... BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH....TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND....PERKIN TAKEN PRISONER....PERKIN AND THE EARL OF WARWICK EXECUTED....MARRIAGE OF PRINCE ARTHUR WITH CATHERINE OF ARRAGON....HIS DEATH....MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET WITH THE KING OF SCOTLAND....OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE....A PARLIAMENT....ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF CASTILE ....INTRIGUES OF THE EARL OF SUFFOLK....SICKNESS OF THE KING....HIS DEATH....AND CHARACTER....HIS LAWS.

PERKIN RETIRES TO SCOTLAND.

AFTER Perkin was repulſed from the coaſt of Kent he retired into Flanders; but, as he found it impoſſible to procure ſubſiſtence for himſelf and his followers while he remained in tranquillity, he ſoon after made an attempt upon Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings had now put the affairs of that iſland in ſo good a poſture, that Perkin met with little ſucceſs; and, being tired of the ſavage life which he was obliged to lead while

ſculking among the wild Iriſh, he bent his courſe towards Scotland, and preſented himſelf to James IV, who then governed that kingdom. He had been previouſly recommended to this prince by the king of France, who was diſguſted at Henry for entering into the general league againſt him; and this recommendation was even ſeconded by Maximilian, who, though one of the confederates, was alſo diſpleaſed with the king on account of his prohibiting in England all commerce with the Low Countries. The countenance given to Perkin by theſe princes procured him a favourable reception with the king of Scotland, who aſſured him that, whatever he were, he never ſhould repent putting himſelf in his hands:[1] the inſinuating addreſs and plauſible behaviour of the youth himſelf ſeem to have gained him credit and authority. James, whom years had not yet taught diſtruſt or caution, was ſeduced to believe the ſtory of Perkin's birth and adventures; and he carried his confidence ſo far as to give him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, and related to himſelf; a young lady too, eminent for virtue as well as beauty.

There ſubſiſted at that time a great jealouſy between the courts of England and Scotland; and James was probably the more forward on that account to adopt any fiction which he thought might reduce his enemy to diſtreſs or difficulty. He ſuddenly reſolved to make an inroad into England, attended by ſome of the borderers; and he carried Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raiſe an inſurrection in the northern counties. Perkin himſelf diſperſed a manifeſto, in which he ſet forth his own ſtory, and craved the aſſiſtance of all his ſubjects in expelling the uſurper, whoſe tyranny and mal-adminiſtration, whoſe depreſſion of the nobility by the elevation of mean perſons, whoſe oppreſſion of the people by multiplied impoſitions and vexations, had juſtly,

he ſaid, rendered him odious to all men. But Perkin's pretenſions, attended with repeated diſappointments, were now become ſtale in the eyes even of the populace; and the hoſtile diſpoſitions which ſubſiſted between the kingdoms rendered a prince, ſupported by the Scots, but an unwelcome preſent to the Engliſh nation. The ravages alſo, committed by the borderers, accuſtomed to licenſe and diſorder, ſtruck a terror into all men, and made the people prepare rather for repelling the invaders than for joining them. Perkin, that he might ſupport his pretenſions to royal birth, feigned great compaſſion for the miſery of his plundered ſubjects, and publicly remonſtrated with his ally againſt the depredations exerciſed by the Scottiſh army:[k] but James told him that he doubted his concern was employed only in behalf of an enemy, and that he was anxious to preſerve what never ſhould belong to him. That prince now began to perceive that his attempt would be fruitleſs; and, hearing of an army which was on its march to attack him, he thought proper to retreat into his own country.

The king diſcovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this inſult committed on him by the Scottiſh nation: his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretence which it might afford him to levy impoſitions on his own ſubjects. He ſummoned a parliament, to whom he made bitter complaints againſt the irruption of the Scots, the abſurd impoſture countenanced by that nation, the cruel devaſtations committed in the northern counties, and the multiplied inſults thus offered both to the king and kingdom of England. The parliament made the expected return to this diſcourſe by granting a ſubſidy to the amount of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, together with two fifteenths. After making this grant they were diſmiſſed.

INSURRECTION IN THE WEST. 1497.

THE vote of parliament for impoſing the tax was without much difficulty procured by the authority of Henry; but he found it not ſo eaſy to levy the money upon his ſubjects. The people, who were acquainted with the immenſe treaſures which he had amaſſed, could ill brook the new impoſitions raiſed on every ſlight occaſion; and it is probable that the flaw, which was univerſally known to be in his title, made his reign the more ſubject to inſurrections and rebellions. When the ſubſidy began to be levied in Cornwall the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robuſt and courageous, murmured againſt a tax occaſioned by a ſudden inroad of the Scots, from which they eſteemed themſelves entirely ſecure, and which had uſually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. Their ill humour was farther incited by one Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, a notable prating fellow, who, by thruſting himſelf forward on every occaſion, and being loudeſt in every complaint againſt the government, had acquired an authority among thoſe rude people. Thomas Flammoc too, a lawyer, who had become the oracle of the neighbourhood, encouraged the ſedition, by informing them that the tax, though impoſed by parliament, was entirely illegal; that the northern nobility were bound by their tenures to defend the nation againſt the Scots; and that, if theſe new impoſitions were tamely ſubmitted to, the avarice of Henry and of his miniſters would ſoon render the burden intolerable to the nation. The Corniſh, he ſaid, muſt deliver to the king a petition, ſeconded by ſuch a force as would give it authority; and, in order to procure the concurrence of the reſt of the kingdom, care muſt be taken, by their orderly deportment, to ſhew that they had nothing in view but the public good, and the redreſs

of all thoſe grievances under which the people had ſo long laboured.

Encouraged by theſe ſpeeches, the multitude flocked together, and armed themſelves with axes, bills, bows, and ſuch weapons as country people are uſually poſſeſſed of. Flammoc and Joſeph were choſen their leaders. They ſoon conducted the Corniſh through the county of Devon, and reached that of Somerſet. At Taunton the rebels killed, in their fury, an officious and eager commiſſioner of the ſubſidy, whom they called the provoſt of Perin. When they reached Wells they were joined by lord Audley, a nobleman of an ancient family, popular in his deportment, but vain, ambitious, and reſtleſs in his temper. He had from the beginning maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the firſt movers of the inſurrection, and was now joyfully received by them as their leader. Proud of the countenance given them by ſo conſiderable a nobleman, they continued their march; breathing deſtruction to the king's miniſters and favourites, particularly to Moreton, now a cardinal, and ſir Reginald Bray, who were deemed the moſt active inſtruments in all his oppreſſions. Notwithſtanding their rage againſt the adminiſtration, they carefully followed the directions given them by their leaders; and, as they met with no reſiſtance, they committed, during their march, no violence or diſorder.

The rebels had been told by Flammoc that the inhabitants of Kent, as they had ever, during all ages, remained unſubdued, and had even maintained their independence during the Norman conqueſt, would ſurely embrace their party, and declare themſelves for a cauſe which was no other than that of public good and general liberty. But the Kentiſh people had very lately diſtinguiſhed themſelves by repelling Perkin's invaſion; and, as they had received from the king many gracious acknowledg-

ments for this ſervice, their affections were, by that means, much conciliated to his government. It was eaſy, therefore, for the earl of Kent, lord Abergavenny, and lord Cobham, who poſſeſſed great authority in thoſe parts, to retain the people in obedience; and the Corniſh rebels, though they pitched their camp near Eltham, at the very gates of London, and invited all the people to join them, got reinforcement from no quarter. There wanted not diſcontents every where, but no one would take part in ſo raſh and ill concerted an enterpriſe; and, beſides, the ſituation in which the king's affairs then ſtood diſcouraged even the boldeſt and moſt daring.

Henry, in order to oppoſe the Scots, had already levied an army, which he put under the command of lord Daubeney the chamberlain; and, as ſoon as he heard of the Corniſh inſurrection, he ordered it to march ſouthwards and ſuppreſs the rebels. Not to leave the northern frontier defenceleſs, he diſpatched thither the earl of Surrey, who aſſembled the forces on the borders, and made head againſt the enemy. Henry found here the concurrence of the three moſt fatal incidents that can befall a monarchy; a foreign enemy, a domeſtic rebellion, and a pretender to his crown: but he enjoyed great reſources in his army and treaſure, and ſtill more in the intrepidity and courage of his own temper. He did not, however, immediately give full ſcope to his military ſpirit. On other occaſions he had always haſtened to a deciſion; and it was a uſual ſaying with him, that he deſired but to ſee his rebels: but, as the Corniſh mutineers behaved in an inoffenſive manner, and committed no ſpoil on the country; as they received no acceſſion of force on their march or in their encampment; and as ſuch haſty and popular tumults might be expected to diminiſh every moment by delay; he took poſt in London, and aſſiduouſly prepared the means of enſuring victory.

BATTLE OF BLACKHEATH. JUNE 1497.

After all his forces were collected he divided them into three bodies, and marched out to aſſail the enemy. The firſt body, commanded by the earl of Oxford, and under him by the earls of Eſſex and Suffolk, were appointed to place themſelves behind the hill on which the rebels were encamped: the ſecond, and moſt conſiderable, Henry put under the command of lord Daubeney, and ordered him to attack the enemy in front, and bring on the action: the third he kept as a body of reſerve about his own perſon, and took poſt in St. George's fields; where he ſecured the city, and could eaſily, as occaſion ſerved, either reſtore the fight or finiſh the victory. To put the enemy off their guard, he had ſpread a report that he was not to attack them till ſome days after; and, the better to confirm them in this opinion, he began not the action till near the evening. Daubeney beat a detachment of the rebels from Deptford bridge; and, before the main body could be in order to receive him, he had gained the aſcent of the hill, and placed himſelf in array before them. They were formidable from their numbers, being ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, and were not defective in valour; but, being tumultuary troops, ill armed, and not provided with cavalry or artillery, they were but an unequal match for the king's forces. Daubeney began the attack with courage, and even with a contempt of the enemy, which had almoſt proved fatal to him. He ruſhed into the midſt of them, and was taken priſoner; but ſoon after was releaſed by his own troops. After ſome reſiſtance the rebels were broken, and put to flight.[1] Lord Audley, Flammoc, and Joſeph, their leaders, were taken, and all three executed. The latter ſeemed even to exult in his end, and boaſted, with a prepoſterous ambition, that he ſhould make

a figure in hiſtory. The rebels, being ſurrounded on every ſide by the king's troops, were almoſt all made priſoners, and immediately diſmiſſed without farther puniſhment: whether that Henry was ſatisfied with the victims who had fallen in the field, and who amounted to near two thouſand; or that he pitied the ignorance and ſimplicity of the multitude; or favoured them on account of their inoffenſive behaviour; or was pleaſed that they had never, during their inſurrection, diſputed his title, and had ſhewn no attachment to the houſe of York, the higheſt crime, of which, in his eyes, they could have been guilty.

The Scottiſh king was not idle during theſe commotions in England. He levied a conſiderable army, and ſat down before the caſtle of Norham in Northumberland; but found that place, by the precaution of Fox biſhop of Durham, ſo well provided both with men and ammunition, that he made little or no progreſs in the ſiege. Hearing that the earl of Surrey had collected ſome forces, and was advancing upon him, he retreated into his own country, and left the frontiers expoſed to the inroads of the Engliſh general, who beſieged and took Aiton, a ſmall caſtle lying a few miles beyond Berwick. Theſe unſucceſsful or frivolous attempts on both ſides prognoſticated a ſpeedy end to the war; and Henry, notwithſtanding his ſuperior force, was no leſs deſirous than James of terminating the differences between the nations. Not to depart, however, from his dignity, by making the firſt advances, he employed in this friendly office Peter Hialas, a man of addreſs and learning, who had come to him as ambaſſador from Ferdinand and Iſabella, and who was charged with a commiſſion of negociating the marriage of the infanta Catherine their daughter with Arthur prince of Wales.[m]

TRUCE WITH SCOTLAND.

HIALAS took a journey northwards, and offered his mediation between James and Henry as miniſter of a prince who was in alliance with both potentates. Commiſſioners were ſoon appointed to meet and confer on terms of accommodation. The firſt demand of the Engliſh was that Perkin ſhould be put into their hands: James replied that he himſelf was no judge of the young man's pretenſions; but, having received him as a ſuppliant, and promiſed him protection, he was determined not to betray a man who had truſted to his good faith and his generoſity. The next demand of the Engliſh met with no better reception: they required reparation for the ravages committed by the late inroads into England. The Scottiſh commiſſioners replied that the ſpoils were like water ſpilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's ſubjects were better able to bear the loſs than their maſter's to repair it. Henry's commiſſioners next propoſed that the two kings ſhould have an interview at Newcaſtle, in order to adjuſt all differences: but James ſaid that he meant to treat of a peace, not to go a begging for it. Leſt the conferences ſhould break off altogether without effect, a truce was concluded for ſome months; and James, perceiving that while Perkin remained in Scotland he himſelf never ſhould enjoy a ſolid peace with Henry, privately deſired him to depart the kingdom.

Acceſs was now barred Perkin into the Low Countries, his uſual retreat in all his diſappointments. The Flemiſh merchants, who ſeverely felt the loſs reſulting from the interruption of commerce with England, had made ſuch intereſt in the archduke's council that commiſſioners were ſent to London, in order to treat of an accommodation. The Flemiſh court agreed that all Engliſh

rebels ſhould be excluded the Low Countries; and in this prohibition the demeſnes of the ducheſs-dowager were expreſsly comprehended. When this principal article was agreed to, all the other terms were eaſily adjuſted. A treaty of commerce was finiſhed, which was favourable to the Flemings, and to which they long gave the appellation of 'Intercurſus magnus,' the great treaty: and, when the Engliſh merchants returned to their uſual abode at Antwerp, they were publicly received, as in proceſſion, with joy and feſtivity.

Perkin was a Fleming by deſcent, though born in England; and it might therefore be doubted whether he were included in the treaty between the two nations: but, as he muſt diſmiſs all his Engliſh retainers if he took ſhelter in the Low Countries; and as he was ſure of a cold reception, if not bad uſage, among people who were determined to keep on terms of friendſhip with the court of England; he thought fit rather to hide himſelf, during ſome time, in the wilds and faſtneſſes of Ireland. Impatient, however, of a retreat, which was both diſagreeable and dangerous, he held conſultations with his followers, Herne, Skelton, and Aſtley, three broken tradeſmen: by their advice he reſolved to try the affections of the Corniſh, whoſe mutinous diſpoſition, notwithſtanding the king's lenity, ſtill ſubſiſted after the ſuppreſſion of their rebellion. No ſooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall than the populace, to the number of three thouſand, flocked to his ſtandard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of ſucceſs, took on him, for the firſt time, the appellation of Richard IV, king of England. Not to ſuffer the expectations of his followers to languiſh, he preſented himſelf before Exeter; and, by many fair promiſes, invited that city to join him. Finding that the inhabitants ſhut their gates againſt him, he laid ſiege to the place; but, being unprovided with artillery, ammunition, and every thing requiſite for the attempt,

he made no progreſs in his undertaking. Meſſengers were ſent to the king, informing him of his inſurrection: the citizens of Exeter, meanwhile, were determined to hold out to the laſt extremity, in expectation of receiving ſuccour from the well known vigilance of that monarch.

When Henry was informed that Perkin was landed in England he expreſſed great joy, and prepared himſelf with alacrity to attack him, in hopes of being able, at length, to put a period to pretenſions which had ſo long given him vexation and inquietude. All the courtiers, ſenſible that their activity on this occaſion would be the moſt acceptable ſervice which they could render the king, diſplayed their zeal for the enterpriſe, and forwarded his preparations. The lords Daubeney and Broke, with ſir Rice ap Thomas, haſtened forward with a ſmall body of troops to the relief of Exeter. The earl of Devonſhire, and the moſt conſiderable gentlemen in the county of that name, took arms of their own accord, and marched to join the king's generals. The duke of Buckingham put himſelf at the head of a troop, conſiſting of young nobility and gentry, who ſerved as volunteers, and who longed for an opportunity of diſplaying their courage and their loyalty. The king himſelf prepared to follow with a conſiderable army. And thus all England ſeemed united againſt a pretender who had at firſt engaged their attention, and divided their affections.

Perkin, informed of theſe great preparations, immediately raiſed the ſiege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of near ſeven thouſand, and ſeemed ſtill reſolute to maintain his cauſe, he himſelf deſpaired of ſucceſs, and ſecretly withdrew to the ſanctuary of Beaulieu in the new foreſt. The Corniſh rebels ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and found that it was not yet exhauſted in their behalf. Except a few perſons of deſperate fortunes who were executed,

and ſome others who were ſeverely fined, all the reſt were diſmiſſed with impunity. Lady Catherine Gordon, wife to Perkin, fell into the hands of the victor, and was treated with a generoſity which does him honour. He ſoothed her mind with many marks of regard, placed her in a reputable ſtation about the queen, and aſſigned her a penſion, which ſhe enjoyed even under his ſucceſſor.

PERKIN TAKEN PRISONER. 1498.

HENRY deliberated what courſe to take with Perkin himſelf. Some counſelled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reaſons of ſtate, to take him by violence from the ſanctuary, to inflict on him the puniſhment due to his temerity, and thus at once put an end to an impoſture which had long diſturbed the government, and which the credulity of the people and the artifices of malcontents were ſtill capable of reviving. But the king deemed not the matter of ſuch importance as to merit ſo violent a remedy. He employed ſome perſons to deal with Perkin, and perſuade him, under promiſe of pardon, to deliver himſelf into the king's hands.[n] The king conducted him, in a ſpecies of mock triumph, to London. As Perkin paſſed along the road, and through the ſtreets of the city, men of all ranks flocked about him, and the populace treated with the higheſt deriſion his fallen fortunes. They ſeemed deſirous of revenging themſelves, by their inſults, for the ſhame which their former belief of his impoſtures had thrown upon them. Though the eyes of the nation were generally opened with regard to Perkin's real parentage, Henry required of him a confeſſion of his life and adventures; and he ordered the account of the whole to be diſperſed, ſoon after, for the ſatisfaction of the public. But, as his regard to decency made him entirely ſuppreſs the ſhare which

the ducheſs of Burgundy had had in contriving and conducting the impoſture, the people, who knew that ſhe had been the chief inſtrument in the whole affair, were inclined, on account of the ſilence on that head, to pay the leſs credit to the authenticity of the narrative.

But Perkin, though his life was granted him, was ſtill detained in cuſtody; and keepers were appointed to guard him. Impatient of confinement, he broke from his keepers, and, flying to the ſanctuary of Shyne, put himſelf into the hands of the prior of that monaſtery. The prior had obtained great credit by his character of ſanctity; and he prevailed on the king again to grant a pardon to Perkin. But, in order to reduce him to ſtill greater contempt, he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and Cheapſide, and obliged in both places to read aloud to the people the confeſſion which had formerly been publiſhed in his name. He was then confined to the tower, where his habits of reſtleſs intrigue and enterpriſe followed him. He inſinuated himſelf into the intimacy of four ſervants of ſir John Digby, lieutenant of the tower; and, by their means, opened a correſpondence with the earl of Warwick, who was confined in the ſame priſon. This unfortunate prince, who had from his earlieſt youth been ſhut up from the commerce of men, and who was ignorant even of the moſt common affairs of life, had fallen into a ſimplicity which made him ſuſceptible of any impreſſion. The continued dread alſo of the more violent effects of Henry's tyranny, joined to the natural love of liberty, engaged him to embrace a project for his eſcape by the murder of the lieutenant; and Perkin offered to conduct the whole enterpriſe. The conſpiracy eſcaped not the king's vigilance; it was even very generally believed that the ſcheme had been laid by himſelf, in order to draw Warwick and Perkin into the ſnare: but the ſubſequent execution of two of Digby's ſervants for the contrivance

ſeems to clear the king of that imputation, which was indeed founded more on the general idea entertained of his character than on any poſitive evidence.

PERKIN AND THE EARL OF WARWICK EXECUTED. 1499.

PERKIN, by this new attempt, after ſo many enormities, had rendered himſelf totally unworthy of mercy; and he was accordingly arraigned, condemned, and ſoon after hanged at Tyburn, perſiſting ſtill in the confeſſion of his impoſture.[o] It happened about that very time that one Wilford, a cordwainer's ſon, encouraged by the ſurpriſing credit given to other impoſtures, had undertaken to perſonate the earl of Warwick; and a prieſt had even ventured from the pulpit to recommend his cauſe to the people, who ſeemed ſtill to retain a propenſity to adopt it. This incident ſerved Henry as a pretence for his ſeverity towards that prince. He was brought to trial, and accuſed not of contriving his eſcape (for, as he was committed for no crime, the deſire of liberty muſt have been regarded as natural and innocent), but of forming deſigns to diſturb the government and raiſe an inſurrection among the people. Warwick confeſſed the indictment, was condemned, and the ſentence was executed upon him on the twenty-firſt of November.

This violent act of tyranny, the great blemiſh of Henry's reign, by which he deſtroyed the laſt remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great diſcontent among the people, who ſaw an unhappy prince, that had long been denied all the privileges of his high birth, even been cut off from the common benefits of nature, now at laſt deprived of life itſelf, merely for attempting to ſhake off that oppreſſion under which he laboured. In vain did Henry endeavour to alleviate the odium of this guilt by ſharing it with his ally Ferdinand of Arragon,

who, he ſaid, had ſcrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to Arthur while any male deſcendant of the houſe of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at ſeeing a young prince ſacrificed, not to law and juſtice, but to the jealous politics of two ſubtle and crafty tyrants.

But, though theſe diſcontents feſtered in the minds of men, they were ſo checked by Henry's watchful policy and ſteady ſeverity that they ſeemed not to weaken his government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now entirely ſecure, paid him rather the greateſt deference and attention. The archduke Philip, in particular, deſired an interview with him; and Henry, who had paſſed over to Calais, agreed to meet him in St. Peter's church near that city. The archduke, on his approaching the king, made haſte to alight, and offered to hold Henry's ſtirrup; a mark of condeſcenſion which that prince would not admit of. He called the king 'father, patron, protector;' and, by his whole behaviour, expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of conciliating the friendſhip of England. The duke of Orleans had ſucceeded to the crown of France by the appellation of Lewis XII; and, having carried his arms into Italy, and ſubdued the duchy of Milan, his progreſs begat jealouſy in Maximilian, Philip's father, as well as in Ferdinand, his father-in-law. By the counſel, therefore, of theſe monarchs, the young prince endeavoured by every art to acquire the amity of Henry, whom they regarded as the chief counterpoiſe to the greatneſs of France. No particular plan, however, of alliance ſeems to have been concerted between theſe two princes in their interview; all paſſed in general profeſſions of affection and regard; at leaſt in remote projects of a cloſer union by the future intermarriages of their children, who were then in a ſtate of infancy.

The pope too, Alexander VI, neglected not the friendſhip of a monarch whoſe reputation was ſpread over Europe. He ſent a nuncio into England, who exhorted the king to take part in the great alliance projected for the recovery of the holy land, and to lead in perſon his forces againſt the infidels. The general frenzy for cruſades was now entirely exhauſted in Europe; but it was ſtill thought a neceſſary piece of decency to pretend zeal for thoſe pious enterpriſes. Henry regretted to the nuncio the diſtance of his ſituation, which rendered it inconvenient for him to expoſe his perſon in defence of the Chriſtian cauſe. He promiſed, however, his utmoſt aſſiſtance by aids and contributions; and, rather than the pope ſhould go alone to the holy wars, unaccompanied by any monarch, he even promiſed to overlook all other conſiderations, and to attend him in perſon. He only required, as a neceſſary condition, that all differences ſhould previouſly be adjuſted among Chriſtian princes, and that ſome ſeaport towns in Italy ſhould be conſigned to him for his retreat and ſecurity. It was eaſy to conclude that Henry had determined not to intermeddle in any war againſt the Turk; but, as a great name, without any real aſſiſtance, is ſometimes of ſervice, the knights of Rhodes, who were at that time eſteemed the bulwark of Chriſtendom, choſe the king protector of their order.

MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF PRINCE ARTHUR. 1501.

But the prince, whoſe alliance Henry valued the moſt, was Ferdinand of Arragon, whoſe vigorous and ſteady policy, always attended with ſucceſs, had rendered him in many reſpects the moſt conſiderable monarch in Europe. There was alſo a remarkable ſimilarity of character between theſe two princes; both were full of craft, intrigue, and deſign; and, though a reſem-

blance of this nature be a ſlender foundation for confidence and amity, where the intereſts of the parties in the leaſt interfere, ſuch was the ſituation of Henry and Ferdinand, that no jealouſy ever on any occaſion aroſe between them. The king had now the ſatisfaction of completing a marriage, on the twelfth of November, which had been projected and negociated during the courſe of ſeven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella; he near ſixteen years of age, ſhe eighteen. But this marriage proved in the iſſue unproſperous. The young prince a few months after ſickened, and died on the ſecond of April, 1502, much regretted by the nation. Henry, deſirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and alſo unwilling to reſtore Catherine's dowry, which was two hundred thouſand ducats, obliged his ſecond ſon Henry, whom he created prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta. The prince made all the oppoſition of which a youth of twelve years of age was capable; but, as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the eſpouſals were at length, by means of the pope's diſpenſation, contracted between the parties: an event which was afterwards attended with the moſt important conſequences.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS MARGARET. 1502.

THE ſame year another marriage was celebrated, which was alſo in the next age productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's elder daughter, with James king of Scotland. This alliance had been negociated during three years, though interrupted by ſeveral broils; and Henry hoped, from the completion of it, to remove all ſource of diſcord with that neighbouring kingdom, by whoſe animoſity England had ſo often been infeſted. When this marriage was deliberated on in the

Engliſh council, ſome objected that England might, by means of that alliance, fall under the dominion of Scotland. 'No,' replied Henry, 'Scotland in that event will only become an acceſſion to England.' Amidſt theſe proſperous incidents, on the eleventh of February, 1503, the king met with a domeſtic calamity, which made not ſuch impreſſion on him as it merited: his queen died in child-bed; and the infant did not long ſurvive her. This princeſs was deſervedly a favourite of the nation; and the general affection for her increaſed, on account of the harſh treatment which it was thought ſhe met with from her conſort.

OPPRESSIONS OF THE PEOPLE. 1503.

THE ſituation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every reſpect very fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, both in war and negociation, were turned to the ſide of Italy; and the various events which there aroſe made Henry's alliance be courted by every party, yet intereſted him ſo little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. His cloſe connexions with Spain and Scotland enſured his tranquillity; and his continued ſucceſſes over domeſtic enemies, owing to the prudence and vigour of his conduct, had reduced the people to entire ſubmiſſion and obedience. Uncontrolled, therefore, by apprehenſion or oppoſition of any kind, he gave full ſcope to his natural propenſity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling paſſion, being increaſed by age and encouraged by abſolute authority, broke all reſtraints of ſhame or juſtice. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceleſs people. Theſe inſtruments of oppreſſion were both lawyers; the firſt of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the ſecond better born, better edu-

HENRY VII WITH EMPSON & DUDLEY.

cated, and better bred, but equally unjuſt, ſevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge in law theſe men were qualified to pervert the forms of juſtice to the oppreſſion of the innocent; and the formidable authority of the king ſupported them in all their iniquities.

It was their uſual practice at firſt to obſerve ſo far the appearance of law as to give indictments to thoſe whom they intended to oppreſs: upon which the perſons were committed to priſon, but never brought to trial; and were at length obliged, in order to recover their liberty, to pay heavy fines and ranſoms, which were called mitigations and compoſitions. By degrees the very appearance of law was neglected: the two miniſters ſent forth their precepts to attach men, and ſummon them before themſelves and ſome others at their private houſes, in a court of commiſſion; where, in a ſummary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were iſſued, both in pleas of the crown and controverſies between private parties. Juries themſelves, when ſummoned, proved but ſmall ſecurity to the ſubject, being browbeaten by theſe oppreſſors, nay fined, impriſoned, and puniſhed, if they gave ſentence againſt the inclination of the miniſters. The whole ſyſtem of the feudal law, which ſtill prevailed, was turned into a ſcheme of oppreſſion. Even the king's wards, after they came of age, were not ſuffered to enter into poſſeſſion of their lands without paying exorbitant fines. Men were alſo haraſſed with informations of intruſion upon ſcarce colourable titles. When an outlawry in a perſonal action was iſſued againſt any man, he was not allowed to purchaſe his charter of pardon, except on the payment of a great ſum; and, if he refuſed the compoſition required of him, the ſtrict law, which in ſuch caſes allows forfeiture of goods, was rigorouſly inſiſted on: nay, without any colour of law, the half of men's lands and rents were ſeized during two years, as a penalty in caſe of outlawry. But

the chief means of oppreſſion employed by theſe miniſters were the penal ſtatutes, which, without conſideration of rank, quality, or ſervices, were rigidly put in execution againſt all men; ſpies, informers, and inquiſitors, were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the ſtatute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obſolete, poſſible or impoſſible to be executed. The ſole end of the king and his miniſters was to amaſs money, and bring every one under the laſh of their authority.[P]

A PARLIAMENT. 1504.

THROUGH the prevalence of ſuch an arbitrary and iniquitous adminiſtration the Engliſh, it may ſafely be affirmed, were conſiderable loſers by their ancient privileges, which ſecured them from all taxations, except ſuch as were impoſed by their own conſent in parliament. Had the king been empowered to levy general taxes at pleaſure, he would naturally have abſtained from theſe oppreſſive expedients, which deſtroyed all ſecurity in private property, and begat an univerſal diffidence throughout the nation. In vain did the people look for protection from the parliament, which was pretty frequently ſummoned during this reign. That aſſembly was ſo overawed, that at this very time, during the greateſt rage of Henry's oppreſſions, on the twenty-fifth of January the commons choſe Dudley their ſpeaker, the very man who was the chief inſtrument of his iniquities. And, though the king was known to be immenſely opulent, and had no pretence of wars or expenſive enterpriſes of any kind, they granted him the ſubſidy which he demanded. But ſo inſatiable was his avarice that next year he levied a new benevolence, and renewed that arbitrary and oppreſſive method of taxation. By all theſe arts of accumula-

tion, joined to a rigid frugality in his expenſe, he ſo filled his coffers that he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed in ready money the ſum of one million eight hundred thouſand pounds: a treaſure almoſt incredible, if we conſider the ſcarcity of money in thoſe times.[q]

But, while Henry was enriching himſelf by the ſpoils of his oppreſſed people, there happened an event abroad which engaged his attention, and was even the object of his anxiety and concern. Iſabella, queen of Caſtile, died about this time; and it was foreſeen that by this incident the fortunes of Ferdinand her huſband would be much affected. The king was not only attentive to the fate of his ally, and watchful leſt the general ſyſtem of Europe ſhould be affected by ſo important an event; he alſo conſidered the ſimilarity of his own ſituation with that of Ferdinand, and regarded the iſſue of theſe tranſactions as a precedent for himſelf. Joan, the daughter of Ferdinand by Iſabella, was married to the archduke Philip; and, being in right of her mother heir of Caſtile, ſeemed entitled to diſpute with Ferdinand the preſent poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Henry knew that, notwithſtanding his own pretenſions by the houſe of Lancaſter, the greater part of the nation was convinced of the ſuperiority of his wife's title; and he dreaded leſt the prince of Wales, who was daily advancing towards manhood, might be tempted by ambition to lay immediate claim to the crown. By his perpetual attention to depreſs the partiſans of the York family he had more cloſely united them into one party, and increaſed their deſire of ſhaking off that yoke under which they had ſo long laboured, and of taking every advantage which his oppreſſive government ſhould give his enemies againſt him. And, as he poſſeſſed no independent force like Ferdinand, and governed a kingdom more turbulent and unruly, which he himſelf by his narrow politics had confirmed in factious prejudices,

he apprehended that his ſituation would prove in the iſſue ſtill more precarious.

ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF CASTILE. 1506.

NOTHING at firſt could turn out more contrary to the king's wiſhes than the tranſactions in Spain. Ferdinand, as well as Henry, had become very unpopular, and from a like cauſe, his former exactions and impoſitions; and the ſtates of Caſtile diſcovered an evident reſolution of preferring the title of Philip and Joan. In order to take advantage of theſe favourable diſpoſitions, the archduke, now king of Caſtile, attended by his conſort, embarked for Spain during the winter ſeaſon; but, meeting with a violent tempeſt in the channel, was obliged to take ſhelter in the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard, a gentleman of authority in the county of Dorſet, hearing of a fleet upon the coaſt, had aſſembled ſome forces; and, being joined by ſir John Cary, who was alſo at the head of an armed body, he came to that town. Finding that Philip, in order to relieve his ſickneſs and fatigue, was already come aſhore, he invited him to his houſe; and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to inform the court of this important incident. The king ſent in all haſte the earl of Arundel to compliment Philip on his arrival in England, and to inform him that he intended to pay him a viſit in perſon, and to give him a ſuitable reception in his dominions. Philip knew that he could not now depart without the king's conſent; and therefore, for the ſake of diſpatch, he reſolved to anticipate his viſit, and to have an interview with him at Windſor. Henry received him with all the magnificence poſſible, and with all the ſeeming cordiality; but he reſolved, notwithſtanding, to draw ſome advantage from this involuntary viſit paid him by his royal gueſt.

INTRIGUES OF THE EARL OF SUFFOLK.

EDMOND de la Pole earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV, and brother to the earl of Lincoln, ſlain in the battle of Stoke, had ſome years before killed a man in a ſudden fit of paſſion, and had been obliged to apply to the king for a remiſſion of the crime. The king had granted his requeſt; but, being little indulgent to all perſons connected with the houſe of York, he obliged him to appear openly in court and plead his pardon. Suffolk, more reſenting the affront than grateful for the favour, had fled into Flanders, and taken ſhelter with his aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy; but, being promiſed forgiveneſs by the king, he returned to England, and obtained a new pardon. Actuated, however, by the natural inquietude of his temper, and uneaſy from debts which he had contracted by his great expenſe at prince Arthur's wedding, he again made an elopement into Flanders. The king, well acquainted with the general diſcontent which prevailed againſt his adminiſtration, neglected not this incident, which might become of importance; and he employed his uſual artifices to elude the efforts of his enemies. He directed ſir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, to deſert his charge, and to inſinuate himſelf into the confidence of Suffolk, by making him a tender of his ſervices. Upon information ſecretly conveyed by Curſon, the king ſeized William Courtney, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Devonſhire, and married to the lady Catherine, ſiſter of the queen; William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk; ſir James Tirrel, and ſir James Windham; with ſome perſons of inferior quality; and he committed them to cuſtody. Lord Abergavenny and ſir Thomas Green were alſo apprehended, but were ſoon after releaſed from their confinement. William de la Pole was long detained in

priſon; Courtney was attainted, and, though not executed, h recovered not his liberty during the king's lifetime. But Henry chief ſeverity fell upon ſir James Windham and ſir James Tirre who were brought to their trial, condemned and executed. Th fate of the latter gave general ſatisfaction, on account of hi participation in the murder of the young princes, ſons of Ed ward IV. Notwithſtanding theſe diſcoveries and executions, Cu ſon was ſtill able to maintain his credit with the earl of Suffoll Henry, in order to remove all ſuſpicion, had ordered him to b excommunicated, together with Suffolk himſelf, for his pre tended rebellion. But, after that traitor had performed all th ſervices expected from him, he ſuddenly deſerted the earl, an came over to England, where the king received him with un uſual marks of favour and confidence. Suffolk, aſtoniſhed at thi inſtance of perfidy, finding that even the ducheſs of Burgundy tired with ſo many fruitleſs attempts, had become indifferent t his cauſe, fled ſecretly into France, thence into Germany, an returned at laſt into the Low Countries, where he was protected though not countenanced, by Philip, then in cloſe alliance wit the king.

Henry neglected not the preſent opportunity of complainin to his gueſt of the reception which Suffolk had met with in hi dominions. 'I really thought,' replied the king of Caſtile, 'tha your greatneſs and felicity had ſet you far above apprehenſion from any perſon of ſo little conſequence; but, to give you ſa tisfaction, I ſhall baniſh him my ſtate.' 'I expect that you wi carry your complaiſance farther,' ſaid the king; 'I deſire to hav Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon hi ſubmiſſion and obedience.' 'That meaſure,' ſaid Philip, 'will re flect diſhonour upon you as well as myſelf. You will be though to have treated me as a priſoner.' 'Then the matter is at a end,' replied the king, 'for I will take that diſhonour upon me

and ſo your honour[r] is ſaved.' The king of Caſtile found himſelf under the neceſſity of complying; but he firſt exacted Henry's promiſe that he would ſpare Suffolk's life. That nobleman was invited over to England by Philip, as if the king would grant him pardon on the interceſſion of his friend and ally. Upon his appearance he was committed to the tower; and the king of Caſtile, having fully ſatisfied Henry, as well by this conceſſion as by ſigning a treaty of commerce between England and Caſtile, which was advantageous to the former kingdom,[s] was at laſt allowed to depart, after a ſtay of three months. He landed in Spain, was joyfully received by the Caſtilians, and put in poſſeſſion of the throne. He died ſoon after; and Joan his widow falling into deep melancholy, Ferdinand was again enabled to reinſtate himſelf in authority, and to govern till the day of his death the whole Spaniſh monarchy.

KING'S SICKNESS AND DEATH. 1508.

THE king ſurvived theſe tranſactions two years; but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign, except his affiancing his ſecond daughter Mary to the young archduke Charles, ſon of Philip of Caſtile. He entertained alſo ſome intentions of marriage for himſelf, firſt with the queen dowager of Naples, relict of Ferdinand; afterwards with the ducheſs dowager of Savoy, daughter of Maximilian and ſiſter of Philip. But the decline of his health put an end to all ſuch thoughts; and he began to caſt his eye towards that future exiſtence which the iniquities and ſeverities of his reign rendered a very diſmal proſpect to him. To allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured, by diſtributing alms and founding religious houſes, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchaſe, by the ſacrifice of part of his ill gotten treaſures, a reconciliation

with his offended Maker. Remorſe even ſeized him, at intervals, for the abuſe of his authority by Empſon and Dudley; but not ſufficient to make him ſtop the rapacious hand of thoſe oppreſſors. Sir William Capel was again fined two thouſand pounds, under ſome frivolous pretence, and was committed to the tower for daring to murmur againſt the iniquity. Harris, an alderman of London, was indicted, and died of vexation before his trial came to an iſſue. Sir Laurence Ailmer, who had been mayor, and his two ſheriffs, were condemned in heavy fines, and ſent to priſon till they made payment. The king gave countenance to all theſe oppreſſions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impreſſed new terrors upon him; and he then ordered, by a general clauſe in his will, that reſtitution ſhould be made to all thoſe whom he had injured. On the twenty-ſecond of April, 1509, he died of a conſumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, after a reign of twenty-three years and eight months, and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age.[t]

CHARACTER OF THE KING.

The reign of Henry VII was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with which the nation had long been haraſſed; he maintained peace and order in the ſtate; he depreſſed the former exorbitant power of the nobility; and, together with the friendſhip of ſome foreign princes, he acquired the conſideration and regard of all. He loved peace without fearing war; though agitated with continual ſuſpicions of his ſervants and miniſters, he diſcovered no timidity, either in the conduct of his affairs, or in the day of battle; and, though often ſevere in his puniſhments, he was commonly leſs actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. The ſervices which he rendered the people were de-

rived from his views of private advantage rather than the motives of public ſpirit; and where he deviated from intereſted regards it was unknown to himſelf, and ever from the malignant prejudices of faction or the mean projects of avarice; not from the ſallies of paſſion or allurements of pleaſure; ſtill leſs from the benign motives of friendſhip and generoſity. His capacity was excellent, but ſomewhat contracted by the narrowneſs of his heart; he poſſeſſed inſinuation and addreſs, but never employed theſe talents except where ſome great point of intereſt was to be gained; and, while he neglected to conciliate the affections of his people, he often felt the danger of reſting his authority on their fear and reverence alone. He was always extremely attentive to his affairs; but poſſeſſed not the faculty of ſeeing far into futurity; and was more expert at providing a remedy for his miſtakes than judicious in avoiding them. Avarice was, on the whole, his ruling paſſion;[a] and he remains an inſtance, almoſt ſingular, of a man placed in a high ſtation, and poſſeſſed of talents for great affairs, in whom that paſſion predominated above ambition. Even among private perſons avarice is commonly nothing but a ſpecies of ambition, and is chiefly incited by the proſpect of that regard, diſtinction, and conſideration, which attend on riches.

The power of the kings of England had always been ſomewhat irregular or diſcretionary; but was ſcarcely ever ſo abſolute during any former reign, at leaſt after the eſtabliſhment of the Great Charter, as during that of Henry. Beſides the advantage derived from the perſonal character of the man; full of vigour, induſtry, and ſeverity; deliberate in all projects; ſteady in every purpoſe; and attended with caution as well as good fortune in every enterpriſe; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had deſtroyed all the great nobility, who alone could reſiſt the encroachments of his authority. The people

were tired with diſcord and inteſtine convulſions, and willing to ſubmit to uſurpations, and even to injuries, rather than plunge themſelves anew into like miſeries. The fruitleſs efforts made againſt him ſerved always, as is uſual, to confirm his authority. As he ruled by a faction, and the leſſer faction, all thoſe on whom he conferred offices, ſenſible that they owed every thing to his protection, were willing to ſupport his power, though at the expenſe of juſtice and national privileges. Theſe ſeem the chief cauſes which at this time beſtowed on the crown ſo conſiderable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the preſent reign a kind of epoch in the Engliſh conſtitution.

THE KING'S LAWS.

This prince, though he exalted his prerogative above law, is celebrated by his hiſtorian for many good laws which he made be enacted for the government of his ſubjects. Several conſiderable regulations, indeed, are found among the ſtatutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom and its commerce; but the former are generally contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more ſimple ideas of order and equity are ſufficient to guide a legiſlator in every thing that regards the internal adminiſtration of juſtice; but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well underſtood in any ſtate. The real conſequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to firſt appearances. No wonder that during the reign of Henry VII theſe matters were frequently miſtaken; and it may ſafely be affirmed that, even in the age of lord Bacon, very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that ſubject.

Early in Henry's reign the authority of the ſtar chamber, which was before founded on common law and ancient practice,

was in ſome caſes confirmed by act of parliament.[x] Lord Bacon extols the utility of this court; but men began, even during the age of that hiſtorian, to feel that ſo arbitrary a juriſdiction was incompatible with liberty; and, in proportion as the ſpirit of independence ſtill roſe higher in the nation, the averſion to it increaſed, till it was entirely aboliſhed by act of parliament in the reign of Charles I, a little before the commencement of the civil wars.

Laws were paſſed in this reign ordaining the king's ſuit for murder to be carried on within a year and day.[y] Formerly it did not uſually commence till after; and, as the friends of the perſon murdered often in the interval compounded matters with the criminal, the crime frequently paſſed unpuniſhed. Suits were given to the poor 'in forma pauperis,' as it is called; that is, without paying dues for the writs, or any fees to the counſel:[z] a good law at all times, eſpecially in that age, when the people laboured under the oppreſſion of the great; but a law difficult to be carried into execution. A law was made againſt carrying off any woman by force.[a] The benefit of clergy was abridged;[b] and the criminal, on the firſt offence, was ordered to be burned in the hand with a letter, denoting his crime; after which he was puniſhed capitally for any new offence. Sheriffs were no longer allowed to fine any perſon without previouſly ſummoning him before their court.[c] It is ſtrange that ſuch a practice ſhould ever have prevailed. Attaint of juries was granted in caſes which exceeded forty pounds value:[d] a law which has an appearance of equity, but which was afterwards found inconvenient. Actions popular were not allowed to be eluded by fraud or covin. If any ſervant of the king's conſpired againſt the life of the ſteward, treaſurer, or comptroller of the king's houſehold, this deſign, though not followed by any overt act, was made liable to the puniſhment of felony.[e] This ſtatute was

enacted for the ſecurity of archbiſhop Moreton, who found himſelf expoſed to the enmity of great numbers.

There ſcarcely paſſed any ſeſſion during this reign without ſome ſtatute againſt engaging retainers, and giving them badges or liveries;[f] a practice by which they were in a manner inliſted under ſome great lord, and were kept in readineſs to aſſiſt him in all wars, inſurrections, riots, violences, and even in bearing evidence for him in courts of juſtice.[g] This diſorder, which had prevailed during many reigns, when the law could give little protection to the ſubject, was then deeply rooted in England; and it required all the vigilance and rigour of Henry to extirpate it. There is a ſtory of his ſeverity againſt this abuſe; and it ſeems to merit praiſe, though it is commonly cited as an inſtance of his avarice and rapacity. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, in whom he always placed great and deſerved confidence, having ſplendidly entertained him at his caſtle at Heningham, was deſirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the departure of his royal gueſt; and ordered all his retainers, with their liveries and badges, to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and ſplendid. 'My lord,' ſaid the king, 'I have heard much of your hoſpitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. Theſe handſome gentlemen and yeomen, whom I ſee on both ſides of me, are no doubt your menial ſervants.' The earl ſmiled, and confeſſed that his fortune was too narrow for ſuch magnificence. 'They are moſt of them,' ſubjoined he, 'my retainers, who are come to do me ſervice at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majeſty's preſence.' The king ſtarted a little, and ſaid, 'By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I muſt not allow my laws to be broken in my ſight. My attorney muſt ſpeak with you.' Oxford is ſaid to have paid no leſs than fifteen thouſand marks, as a compoſition for his offence.

The increaſe of the arts, more effectually than all the ſeverities of law, put an end to this pernicious practice. The nobility, inſtead of vying with each other in the number and boldneſs of their retainers, acquired by degrees a more civilized ſpecies of emulation, and endeavoured to excel in the ſplendour and elegance of their equipage, houſes, and tables. The common people, no longer maintained in vicious idleneſs by their ſuperiors, were obliged to learn ſome calling or induſtry, and became uſeful both to themſelves and to others. And it muſt be acknowledged, in ſpite of thoſe who declaim ſo violently againſt refinement in the arts, or what they are pleaſed to call luxury, that, as much as an induſtrious tradeſman is both a better man and a better citizen than one of thoſe idle retainers who formerly depended on the great families, ſo much is the life of a modern nobleman more laudable than that of an ancient baron.[h]

But the moſt important law in its conſequences, which was enacted during the reign of Henry, was that by which the nobility and gentry acquired a power of breaking the ancient entails, and of alienating their eſtates.[i] By means of this law, joined to the beginning luxury and refinement of the age, the great fortunes of the barons were gradually diſſipated, and the property of the commons increaſed in England. It is probable that Henry foreſaw and intended this conſequence; becauſe the conſtant ſcheme of his policy conſiſted in depreſſing the great, and exalting churchmen, lawyers, and men of new families, who were more dependant on him.

This king's love of money naturally led him to encourage commerce, which increaſed his cuſtoms; but, if we may judge by moſt of the laws enacted during his reign, trade and induſtry were rather hurt than promoted by the care and attention given to them. Severe laws were made againſt taking intereſt for money, which was then denominated uſury.[k] Even the profits

of exchange were prohibited as favouring of uſury,[l] which the ſuperſtition of the age zealouſly proſcribed. All evaſive contracts, by which profits could be made from the loan of money, were alſo carefully guarded againſt.[m] It is needleſs to obſerve how unreaſonable and iniquitous theſe laws, how impoſſible to be executed, and how hurtful to trade, if they could take place. We may obſerve, however, to the praiſe of this king, that ſometimes, in order to promote commerce, he lent to merchants ſums of money without intereſt, when he knew that their ſtock was not ſufficient for thoſe enterpriſes which they had in view.[n]

Laws were made againſt the exportation of money, plate, or bullion:[o] a precaution which ſerves to no other purpoſe than to make more be exported. But ſo far was the anxiety on this head carried, that merchants alien, who imported commodities into the kingdom, were obliged to inveſt in Engliſh commodities all the money acquired by their ſales, in order to prevent their conveying it away in a clandeſtine manner.[p]

It was prohibited to export horſes; as if that exportation did not encourage the breed, and render them more plentiful in the kingdom.[q] In order to promote archery, no bows were to be ſold at a higher price than ſix ſhillings and four pence,[r] reducing money to the denomination of our time. The only effect of this regulation muſt be, either that the people would be ſupplied with bad bows, or none at all. Prices were alſo affixed to woollen cloth,[s] to caps and hats;[t] and the wages of labourers were regulated by law.[u] It is evident that theſe matters ought always to be let free, and be intruſted to the common courſe of buſineſs and commerce. To ſome it may appear ſurpriſing that the price of a yard of ſcarlet cloth ſhould be limited to ſix and twenty ſhillings, money of our age; that of a yard of coloured cloth to eighteen; higher prices than theſe commodities bear at preſent; and that the wages of a tradeſman, ſuch as a

maſon, bricklayer, tyler, &c. ſhould be regulated at near ten pence a day; which is not much inferior to the preſent wages given in ſome parts of England. Labour and commodities have certainly riſen ſince the diſcovery of the Weſt Indies; but not ſo much in every particular as is generally imagined. The greater induſtry of the preſent times has increaſed the number of tradeſmen and labourers, ſo as to keep wages nearer a par than could be expected from the great increaſe of gold and ſilver; and the additional art employed in the finer manufactures has even made ſome of theſe commodities fall below their former value; not to mention that merchants and dealers, being contented with leſs profit than formerly, afford the goods cheaper to their cuſtomers. It appears, by a ſtatute of this reign,[x] that goods bought for ſixteen pence would ſometimes be ſold by the merchants for three ſhillings. The commodities whoſe price has chiefly riſen are butchers' meat, fowl, and fiſh (eſpecially the latter), which cannot be much augmented in quantity by the increaſe of art and induſtry. The profeſſion which then abounded moſt, and was ſometimes embraced by perſons of the loweſt rank, was the church. By a clauſe of a ſtatute, all clerks or ſtudents of the univerſity were forbidden to beg, without a permiſſion from the vice chancellor.[y]

One great cauſe of the low ſtate of induſtry during this period was the reſtraints put upon it; and the parliament, or rather the king (for he was the prime mover in every thing), enlarged a little ſome of theſe limitations, but not to the degree that was requiſite. A law had been enacted, during the reign of Henry IV,[z] that no man could bind his ſon or daughter to an apprenticeſhip unleſs he were poſſeſſed of twenty ſhillings a year in land; and Henry VII, becauſe the decay of manufactures was complained of in Norwich from the want of hands, exempted that city from the penalties of the law.[a] Afterwards

the whole county of Norfolk obtained a like exemption with regard to ſome branches of the woollen manufacture.[b] Theſe abſurd limitations proceeded from a deſire of promoting huſbandry, which, however, is never more effectually encouraged than by the increaſe of manufactures. For a like reaſon the law enacted againſt encloſures, and for the keeping up of farm houſes,[c] ſcarcely deſerves the high praiſes beſtowed on it by lord Bacon. If huſbandmen underſtand agriculture, and have a ready vent for their commodities, we need not dread a diminution of the people employed in the country. All methods of ſupporting populouſneſs, except by the intereſt of the proprietors, are violent and ineffectual. During a century and a half after this period there was a frequent renewal of laws and edicts againſt depopulation; whence we may infer that none of them were ever executed. The natural courſe of improvement at laſt provided a remedy.

One check to induſtry in England was the erecting of corporations; an abuſe which is not yet entirely corrected. A law was enacted that corporations ſhould not paſs any bye laws without the conſent of three of the chief officers of ſtate.[d] They were prohibited from impoſing tolls at their gates.[e] The cities of Gloceſter and Worceſter had even impoſed tolls on the Severne, which were aboliſhed.[f]

There is a law of this reign[g] containing a preamble, by which it appears that the company of merchant adventurers in London had, by their own authority, debarred all the other merchants of the kingdom from trading to the great marts in the Low Countries, unleſs each trader previouſly paid them the ſum of near ſeventy pounds. It is ſurpriſing that ſuch a bye law (if it deſerve the name) could ever be carried into execution, and that the authority of parliament ſhould be requiſite to abrogate it.

It was during this reign, on the ſecond of Auguſt 1492, a little before ſun-ſet, that Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe, ſet out from Spain on his memorable voyage for the diſcovery of the weſtern world; and a few years after Vaſquez de Gama, a Portugueſe, paſſed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. Theſe great events were attended with important conſequences to all the nations of Europe, even to ſuch as were not immediately concerned in thoſe naval enterpriſes. The enlargement of commerce and navigation increaſed induſtry and the arts every where: the nobles diſſipated their fortunes in expenſive pleaſures; men of an inferior rank both acquired a ſhare in the landed property, and created to themſelves a conſiderable property of a new kind, in ſtock, commodities, art, credit, and correſpondence. In ſome nations the privileges of the commons increaſed by this increaſe of property: in moſt nations the kings, finding arms to be dropped by the barons, who could no longer endure their former rude manner of life, eſtabliſhed ſtanding armies, and ſubdued the liberties of their kingdoms: but in all places the condition of the people, from the depreſſion of the petty tyrants by whom they had formerly been oppreſſed rather than governed, received great improvement; and they acquired, if not entire liberty, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable advantages of it. And, as the general courſe of events thus tended to depreſs the nobles and exalt the people, Henry VII, who alſo embraced that ſyſtem of policy, has acquired more praiſe than his inſtitutions, ſtrictly ſpeaking, ſeem of themſelves to deſerve on account of any profound wiſdom attending them.

It was by accident only that the king had not a conſiderable ſhare in thoſe great naval diſcoveries by which the preſent age was ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Columbus, after meeting with many repulſes from the courts of Portugal and Spain, ſent his brother

Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Iſabella, was ſupplied with a ſmall fleet, and happily executed his enterpriſe. Henry was not diſcouraged by this diſappointment: he fitted out Sebaſtian Cabot, a Venetian, ſettled in Briſtol; and ſent him weſtwards, in 1498, in ſearch of new countries. Cabot diſcovered the main land of America towards the ſixtieth degree of northern latitude: he ſailed ſouthwards along the coaſt, and diſcovered Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conqueſt or ſettlement. Elliot, and other merchants in Briſtol, made a like attempt in 1502.[h] The king expended fourteen thouſand pounds in building one ſhip,[i] called the 'Great Harry.' She was, properly ſpeaking, the firſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy. Before this period, when the prince wanted a fleet, he had no other expedient than hiring or preſſing ſhips from the merchants.

But, though this improvement of navigation, and the diſcovery of both the Indies, was the moſt memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was diſtinguiſhed. In 1453 Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom ſome remains of learning were ſtill preſerved, being ſcattered by theſe barbarians, took ſhelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their ſcience, and of their refined taſte in poetry and eloquence. About the ſame time the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the ſtudy of antiquity became faſhionable, and the eſteem for literature gradually propagated itſelf throughout every nation in Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, ex-

tremely facilitated the progreſs of all theſe improvements: the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were ſoon after made in religion, ſuch as not only affected thoſe ſtates that embraced them, but even thoſe that adhered to the ancient faith and worſhip: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men gradually attained that ſituation with regard to commerce, arts, ſcience, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever ſince perſevered. Here, therefore, commences the uſeful, as well as the more agreeable, part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the conſiderable, and even moſt of the minute, parts of hiſtorical narration; a great variety of events, preſerved by printing, give the author the power of ſelecting, as well as adorning, the facts which he relates; and, as each incident has a reference to our preſent manners and ſituation, inſtructive leſſons occur every moment during the courſe of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious reſearches into preceding periods is moved by a curioſity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any neceſſity for acquiring knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.

HENRY VIII.

CH. XXVII. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX. XXXI. XXXII. XXXIII.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING: WAR WITH FRANCE: WOLSEY MINISTER: PEACE WITH FRANCE: WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE: INTERVIEW BETWEEN HENRY AND FRANCIS NEAR CALAIS. ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION: MARTIN LUTHER: WAR WITH FRANCE: A PARLIAMENT: BATTLE OF PAVIA. ANN BOLEYN: WOLSEY'S FALL: COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION: WOLSEY'S DEATH. SIR THO.S MORE: THE MAID OF KENT: EXECUTION OF QUEEN ANNE: SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES: CARDINAL POLE. FALL OF CROMWEL. DEATH OF JAMES V: PEACE WITH FRANCE & SCOTLAND: PERSECUTIONS: DEATH OF THE KING.

COINS of HENRY 8.

JANE SEYMOUR
CATHARINE HOWARD

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY VIII.

1509....1547.

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING....HIS MINISTERS....PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY....KING'S MARRIAGE....FOREIGN AFFAIRS....JULIUS II....LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY....WAR WITH FRANCE ....EXPEDITION TO FONTARABIA....DECEIT OF FERDINAND, AND RETURN OF THE ENGLISH....LEO X....A PARLIAMENT....WAR WITH SCOTLAND....WOLSEY MINISTER....HIS CHARACTER....INVASION OF FRANCE....BATTLE OF GUINEGATE....BATTLE OF FLOUDEN....PEACE WITH FRANCE

POPULARITY OF THE NEW KING. 1509.

THE death of Henry VII had been attended with as open and viſible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the acceſſion and coronation of his ſon Henry VIII ſpread univerſally a declared and unfeigned ſatisfaction. Inſtead of a monarch jealous, ſevere, and avaricious, who, in proportion as he advanced in years, was ſinking ſtill deeper in thoſe unpopular vices, a young prince of eighteen had ſucceeded to the throne, who, even in the eyes of men of ſenſe, gave promiſing hopes of his future conduct, much more in thoſe of the people, always enchanted with novelty, youth, and royal dignity. The beauty

and vigour of his perſon, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exerciſe, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of ſpirit and activity in all his demeanour.[k] His father, in order to remove him from the knowledge of public buſineſs, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the purſuits of literature; and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognoſtic of his parts and capacity.[l] Even the vices of vehemence, ardour, and impatience, to which he was ſubject, and which afterwards degenerated into tyranny, were conſidered only as faults incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity. And, as the contending titles of York and Lancaſter were now at laſt fully united in his perſon, men juſtly expected from a prince, obnoxious to no party, that impartiality of adminiſtration which had long been unknown in England.

KING'S MINISTERS.

THESE favourable prepoſſeſſions of the public were encouraged by the meaſures which Henry embraced in the commencement of his reign. His grandmother, the counteſs of Richmond and Derby, was ſtill alive; and, as ſhe was a woman much celebrated for prudence and virtue, he wiſely ſhewed great deference to her opinion in the eſtabliſhment of his new council. The members were Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor; the earl of Shrewſbury, ſteward; lord Herbert, chamberlain; ſir Thomas Lovel, maſter of the wards and conſtable of the tower; ſir Edward Poynings, comptroller; ſir Henry Marney, afterwards lord Marney; ſir Thomas Darcy, afterwards lord Darcy; Thomas Ruthal, doctor of laws; and ſir Henry Wyat.[m] Theſe men had long been accuſtomed to buſineſs under the late king, and were

the leaſt unpopular of all the miniſters employed by that monarch.

But the chief competitors for favour and authority under the new king were the earl of Surrey, treaſurer, and Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and privy ſeal. This prelate, who enjoyed great credit during all the former reign, had acquired ſuch habits of caution and frugality as he could not eaſily lay aſide and he ſtill oppoſed, by his remonſtrances, thoſe ſchemes of diſſipation and expenſe which the youth and paſſions of Henry rendered agreeable to him. But Surrey was a more dexterous courtier; and, though few had born a greater ſhare in the frugal politics of the late king, he knew how to conform himſelf to the humour of his new maſter; and no one was ſo forward in promoting that liberality, pleaſure, and magnificence, which began to prevail under the young monarch.[n] By this policy he ingratiated himſelf with Henry; he made advantage, as well as the other courtiers, of the laviſh diſpoſition of his maſter; and he engaged him in ſuch a courſe of play and idleneſs as rendered him negligent of affairs, and willing to intruſt the government of the ſtate entirely into the hands of his miniſters The great treaſures amaſſed by the late king were gradually diſſipated in the giddy expenſes of Henry. One party of pleaſure ſucceeded to another; tilts, tournaments, and caroufals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and, as the preſent tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itſelf in every amuſement, ſerious buſineſs was but little attended to: or, if the king intermitted the courſe of his feſtivity, he chiefly employed himſelf in an application to muſic and literature, which were his favourite purſuits, and which were well adapted to his genius. He had made ſuch proficiency in the former art as even to compoſe ſome pieces of church muſic which were ſung in his chapel.[o] He was initiated in the ele-

gant learning of the ancients. And, though he was ſo unfortunate as to be ſeduced into a ſtudy of the barren controverſies of the ſchools, which were then faſhionable, and had choſen Thomas Aquinas for his favourite author, he ſtill diſcovered a capacity fitted for more uſeful and entertaining knowledge.

PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY.

THE frank and careleſs humour of the king, as it led him to diſſipate the treaſures amaſſed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the inſtruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. A proclamation being iſſued to encourage complaints, the rage of the people was let looſe on all informers, who had ſo long exerciſed an unbounded tyranny over the nation:[P] they were thrown into priſon, condemned to the pillory, and moſt of them loſt their lives by the violence of the populace. Empſon and Dudley, who were moſt expoſed to public hatred, were immediately ſummoned before the council, in order to anſwer for their conduct, which had rendered them ſo obnoxious. Empſon made a ſhrewd apology for himſelf, as well as for his aſſociate. He told the council that, ſo far from his being juſtly expoſed to cenſure for his paſt conduct, his enemies themſelves grounded their clamour on actions which ſeemed rather to merit reward and approbation: that a ſtrict execution of law was the crime of which he and Dudley were accuſed; though that law had been eſtabliſhed by general conſent, and though they had acted in obedience to the king, to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice was intruſted by the conſtitution: that it belonged not to them, who were inſtruments in the hands of ſupreme power, to determine what laws were recent or obſolete, expedient or hurtful, ſince they were all alike valid ſo long as they remained unrepealed by the legiſlature:

that it was natural for a licentious populace to murmur againſt the reſtraints of authority; but all wiſe ſtates had ever made their glory conſiſt in the juſt diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments, and had annexed the former to the obſervance and enforcement of the laws, the latter to their violation and infraction: and that a ſudden overthrow of all government might be expected where the judges were committed to the mercy of the criminals, the rulers to that of the ſubjects.[q]

Notwithſtanding this defence, Empſon and Dudley were ſent to the tower, and ſoon after brought to their trial. The ſtrict execution of laws, however obſolete, could never be imputed to them as a crime in a court of judicature; and it is likely that, even where they had exerciſed arbitrary power, the king, as they had acted by the ſecret commands of his father, was not willing that their conduct ſhould undergo too ſevere a ſcrutiny. In order, therefore, to gratify the people with the puniſhment of theſe obnoxious miniſters, crimes very improbable, or indeed abſolutely impoſſible, were charged upon them; that they had entered into a conſpiracy againſt the ſovereign, and had intended, on the death of the late king, to have ſeized by force the adminiſtration of government. The jury were ſo far moved by popular prejudices, joined to court influence, as to give a verdict againſt them; which was afterwards confirmed by a bill of attainder in parliament,[r] and at the earneſt deſire of the people was executed by warrant from the king. Thus, in thoſe arbitrary times, juſtice was equally violated, whether the king ſought power and riches or courted popularity.

KING'S MARRIAGE.

Henry, while he puniſhed the inſtruments of paſt tyranny, had yet ſuch deference to former engagements as to deliberate, im-

mediately after his acceſſion, concerning the celebration of his marriage with the infanta Catherine, to whom he had been affianced during his father's lifetime. Her former marriage with his brother, and the inequality of their years, were the chief objections urged againſt his eſpouſing her: but, on the other hand, the advantages of her known virtue, modeſty, and ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, were inſiſted on; the affection which ſhe bore to the king; the large dowry to which ſhe was entitled as princeſs of Wales; the intereſt of cementing a cloſe alliance with Spain; the neceſſity of finding ſome confederate to counterbalance the power of France; the expediency of fulfilling the engagements of the late king: when theſe conſiderations were weighed, they determined the council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, to give Henry their advice for celebrating the marriage. The counteſs of Richmond, who had concurred in the ſame ſentiments with the council, died ſoon after the marriage of her grandſon.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE popularity of Henry's government, his undiſputed title, his extenſive authority, his large treaſures, the tranquillity of his ſubjects, were circumſtances which rendered his domeſtic adminiſtration eaſy and proſperous: the ſituation of foreign affairs was no leſs happy and deſirable. Italy continued ſtill, as during the late reign, to be the centre of all the wars and negociations of the European princes; and Henry's alliance was courted by all parties, at the ſame time that he was not engaged by any immediate intereſt or neceſſity to take part with any. Lewis XII of France, after his conqueſt of Milan, was the only great prince that poſſeſſed any territory in Italy; and, could he have remained in tranquillity, he was enabled by his ſituation to preſcribe laws

to all the Italian princes and republics, and to hold the balance among them. But the deſire of making a conqueſt of Naples, to which he had the ſame title or pretenſions with his predeceſſor, ſtill engaged him in new enterpriſes; and, as he foreſaw oppoſition from Ferdinand, who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic of Naples, he endeavoured by the offers of intereſt, to which the ears of that monarch were ever open, to engage him in an oppoſite confederacy. He ſettled with him a plan for the partition of the kingdom of Naples and the expulſion of Frederic; a plan which the politicians of that age regarded as the moſt egregious imprudence in the French monarch, and the greateſt perfidy in the Spaniſh. Frederic, ſupported only by ſubjects who were either diſcontented with his government or indifferent about his fortunes, was unable to reſiſt ſo powerful a confederacy, and was deprived of his dominions; but he had the ſatisfaction to ſee Naples immediately prove the ſource of contention among his enemies. Ferdinand gave ſecret orders to his general Gonſalvo, whom the Spaniards honour with the appellation of 'the great captain,' to attack the armies of France, and make himſelf maſter of all the dominions of Naples. Gonſalvo prevailed in every enterpriſe, defeated the French in two pitched battles, and enſured to his prince the entire poſſeſſion of that kingdom. Lewis, unable to procure redreſs by force of arms, was obliged to enter into a fruitleſs negociation with Ferdinand for the recovery of his ſhare of the partition; and all Italy during ſome time was held in ſuſpenſe between theſe two powerful monarchs.

JULIUS II.....LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

THERE has ſcarcely been any period when the balance of power was better ſecured in Europe, and ſeemed more able to main-

tain itſelf without any anxious concern or attention of the princes. Several great monarchies were eſtabliſhed; and no one ſo far ſurpaſſed the reſt as to give any foundation, or even pretence, for jealouſy. England was united in domeſtic peace, and by its ſituation happily ſecured from the invaſion of foreigners. The coalition of the ſeveral kingdoms of Spain had formed one powerful monarchy, which Ferdinand adminiſtered with arts, fraudulent indeed and deceitful, but full of vigour and ability. Lewis XII, a gallant and generous prince, had, by eſpouſing Anne of Brittany, widow to his predeceſſor, preſerved the union with that principality, on which the ſafety of his kingdom ſo much depended. Maximilian the emperor, beſides the hereditary dominions of the Auſtrian family, maintained authority in the empire, and, notwithſtanding the levity of his character, was able to unite the German princes in any great plan of intereſt, at leaſt of defence. Charles prince of Caſtile, grandſon to Maximilian and Ferdinand, had already ſucceeded to the rich dominions of the houſe of Burgundy; and, being as yet in early youth, the government was intruſted to Margaret of Savoy, his aunt, a princeſs endowed with ſignal prudence and virtue. The internal force of theſe ſeveral powerful ſtates, by balancing each other, might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterpriſing genius of Julius II, an ambitious pontiff, firſt excited the flames of war and diſcord among them. By his intrigues a league had been formed at Cambray [s] between himſelf, Maximilian, Lewis, and Ferdinand: and the object of this great confederacy was to overwhelm, by their united arms, the commonwealth of Venice. Henry, without any motive from intereſt or paſſion, allowed his name to be inſerted in the confederacy. This oppreſſive and iniquitous league was but too ſucceſsful againſt the republic.

The great force and ſecure ſituation of the conſiderable monarchies prevented any one from aſpiring to any conqueſt of moment; and, though this conſideration could not maintain general peace, or remedy the natural inquietude of men, it rendered the princes of this age more diſpoſed to deſert engagements and change their alliances, in which they were retained by humour and caprice, rather than by any natural or durable intereſt. Julius had no ſooner humbled the Venetian republic than he was inſpired with a nobler ambition, that of expelling all foreigners from Italy; or, to ſpeak in the ſtyle affected by the Italians of that age, the freeing of that country entirely from the dominion of barbarians.[t] He was determined to make the tempeſt firſt fall upon Lewis; and, in order to pave the way for this great enterpriſe, he at once ſought for a ground of quarrel with the monarch, and courted the alliance of other princes. He declared war againſt the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis. He ſolicited the favour of England, by ſending Henry a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk [u] and anointed with chriſm. He engaged in his intereſts Bambridge archbiſhop of York, and Henry's ambaſſador at Rome, whom he ſoon after created a cardinal. He drew over Ferdinand to his party, though that monarch at firſt made no declaration of his intentions. And, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiſs cantons, who, enraged by ſome neglects put upon them by Lewis, accompanied with contumelious expreſſions, had quitted the alliance of France, and waited for an opportunity of revenging themſelves on that nation.

While the French monarch repelled the attacks of his enemies he thought it alſo requiſite to make an attempt on the pope himſelf, and to deſpoil him as much as poſſible of that ſacred character which chiefly rendered him formidable. He engaged ſome cardinals, diſguſted with the violence of Julius, to

deſert him; and by their authority he was determined, in conjunction with Maximilian, who ſtill adhered to his alliance, to call a general council, which might reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the Roman pontiff. A council was ſummoned at Piſa, which from the beginning bore a very inauſpicious aſpect, and promiſed little ſucceſs to its adherents. Except a few French biſhops, who unwillingly obeyed their king's commands in attending the council, all the other prelates kept aloof from an aſſembly which they regarded as the offspring of faction, intrigue, and worldly politics. Even Piſa, the place of their reſidence, ſhewed them ſigns of contempt; which engaged them to transfer their ſeſſion to Milan, a city under the dominion of the French monarch. Notwithſtanding this advantage, they did not experience much more reſpectful treatment from the inhabitants of Milan, and found it neceſſary to make another remove to Lyons.[w] Lewis himſelf fortified theſe violent prejudices in favour of papal authority by the ſymptoms which he diſcovered of regard, deference, and ſubmiſſion, to Julius, whom he always ſpared, even when fortune had thrown into his hands the moſt inviting opportunities of humbling him. And, as it was known that his conſort, who had great influence over him, was extremely diſquieted in mind on account of his diſſenſions with the holy father, all men prognoſticated to Julius final ſucceſs in this unequal conteſt.

The enterpriſing pontiff knew his advantages, and availed himſelf of them with the utmoſt temerity and inſolence. So much had he neglected his ſacerdotal character, that he acted in perſon at the ſiege of Mirandola, viſited the trenches, ſaw ſome of his attendants killed by his ſide, and, like a young ſoldier, cheerfully bore all the rigours of winter and a ſevere ſeaſon in purſuit of military glory;[x] yet was he ſtill able to throw, even on his moſt moderate opponents, the charge of impiety

and prophaneneſs. He ſummoned a council at the Lateran; he put Piſa under an interdict, and all the places which gave ſhelter to the ſchiſmatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his ſpiritual thunder againſt the princes who adhered to it; he freed their ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take poſſeſſion of them.

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1512.

FERDINAND of Arragon, who had acquired the ſurname of Catholic, regarded the cauſe of the pope and of religion only as a cover to his ambition and ſelfiſh politics: Henry, naturally ſincere and ſanguine in his temper, and the more ſo on account of his youth and inexperience, was moved with a hearty deſire of protecting the pope from the oppreſſion to which he believed him expoſed from the ambitious enterpriſes of Lewis. Hopes had been given him by Julius that the title of 'Moſt Chriſtian King,' which had hitherto been annexed to the crown of France, and which was regarded as its moſt precious ornament, ſhould, in reward of his ſervices, be transferred to that of England.[y] Impatient alſo of acquiring that diſtinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amidſt the noiſe of arms; and the natural enmity of the Engliſh againſt France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join that alliance which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed againſt the French monarch. A herald was ſent to Paris to exhort Lewis not to wage impious war againſt the ſovereign pontiff; and, when he returned without ſucceſs, another was ſent to demand the ancient patrimonial provinces, Anjou, Maine, Guienne, and Normandy. This meſſage was underſtood to be a declaration of war; and a parliament

being ſummoned, February the fourth, readily granted ſupplies for a purpoſe ſo much favoured by the Engliſh nation.[z]

EXPEDITION TO FONTARABIA.

Buonaviso, an agent of the pope's at London, had been corrupted by the court of France, and had previouſly revealed to Lewis all the meaſures which Henry was concerting againſt him. But this infidelity did the king inconſiderable prejudice, in compariſon of the treachery which he experienced from the ſelfiſh purpoſes of the ally on whom he chiefly relied for aſſiſtance. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, had ſo long perſevered in a courſe of crooked politics, that he began even to value himſelf on his dexterity in fraud and artifice; and he made a boaſt of thoſe ſhameful ſucceſſes. Being told one day that Lewis, a prince of a very different character, had complained of his having once cheated him; 'He lies, the drunkard!' ſaid he, 'I have cheated him above twenty times.' This prince conſidered his cloſe connexions with Henry only as the means which enabled him the better to take advantage of his want of experience. He adviſed him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himſelf ſhould not have it in his power to aſſiſt him: he exhorted him rather to ſend forces to Fontarabia, whence he could eaſily make a conqueſt of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the Engliſh had ſtill ſome adherents. He promiſed to aſſiſt this conqueſt by the junction of a Spaniſh army. And ſo forward did he ſeem to promote the intereſts of his ſon-in-law, that he even ſent veſſels to England, in order to tranſport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpoſe. The marquis of Dorſet commanded this armament, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, moſtly infantry; lord Howard, ſon of the earl of Surrey, lord Broke, lord Ferrars, and many others of the young

gentry and nobility, accompanied him in this ſervice. All were on fire to diſtinguiſh themſelves by military achievements, and to make a conqueſt of importance for their maſter. The ſecret purpoſe of Ferdinand, in this unexampled generoſity, was ſuſpected by nobody.

The ſmall kingdom of Navarre lies on the frontiers between France and Spain; and, as John d'Albret the ſovereign was connected by friendſhip and alliance with Lewis, the opportunity ſeemed favourable to Ferdinand, while the Engliſh forces were conjoined with his own, and while all adherents to the council of Piſa lay under the ſentence of excommunication, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of theſe dominions. No ſooner, therefore, was Dorſet landed in Guipiſcoa, than the Spaniſh monarch declared his readineſs to join him with his forces, to make with united arms an invaſion of France, and to form the ſiege of Bayonne, which opened the way into Guienne:[a] but he remarked to the Engliſh general how dangerous it might prove to leave behind them the kingdom of Navarre, which, being in cloſe alliance with France, could eaſily give admittance to the enemy, and cut off all communication between Spain and the combined armies. To provide againſt ſo dangerous an event, he required that John ſhould ſtipulate a neutrality in the preſent war; and, when that prince expreſſed his willingneſs to enter into any engagement for that purpoſe, he alſo required that ſecurity ſhould be given for the ſtrict obſervance of it. John having likewiſe agreed to this condition, Ferdinand demanded that he ſhould deliver into his hands ſix of the moſt conſiderable places of his dominions, together with his eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage. Theſe were not terms to be propoſed to a ſovereign; and, as the Spaniſh monarch expected a refuſal, he gave immediate orders to the duke of Alva, his general, to make an invaſion on Navarre, and to reduce that kingdom. Alva ſoon made himſelf maſter of all the

ſmaller towns; and, being ready to form the ſiege of Pampeluna the capital, he ſummoned the marquis of Dorſet to join him with the Engliſh army, and concert together all their operations.

FERDINAND'S DECEIT, AND RETURN OF THE ENGLISH.

Dorset began to ſuſpect that the intereſts of his maſter were very little regarded in all theſe tranſactions; and, having no orders to invade the kingdom of Navarre, or make war any where but in France, he refuſed to take any part in the enterpriſe. He remained, therefore, in his quarters at Fontarabia; but ſo ſubtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that, even while the Engliſh army lay in that ſituation, it was almoſt equally ſerviceable to his purpoſe as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented it from advancing to ſuccour the kingdom of Navarre; ſo that Alva, having full leiſure to conduct the ſiege, made himſelf maſter of Pampeluna, and obliged John to ſeek for ſhelter in France. The Spaniſh general applied again to Dorſet, and propoſed to conduct with united counſels the operations of the 'holy league,' ſo it was called, againſt Lewis: but, as he ſtill declined forming the ſiege of Bayonne, and rather inſiſted on the invaſion of the principality of Bearne, a part of the king of Navarre's dominions, which lies on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, Dorſet, juſtly ſuſpicious of his ſiniſter intentions, repreſented that, without new orders from his maſter, he could not concur in ſuch an undertaking. In order to procure theſe orders Ferdinand diſpatched Martin de Ampios to London; and perſuaded Henry that, by the refractory and ſcrupulous humour of the Engliſh general, the moſt favourable opportunities were loſt, and that it was neceſſary he ſhould, on all occaſions, act in concert with

the Spaniſh commander, who was beſt acquainted with the ſituation of the country and the reaſons of every operation. But before orders to this purpoſe reached Spain Dorſet had become extremely impatient; and, obſerving that his farther ſtay ſerved not to promote the main undertaking, and that his army was daily periſhing by want and ſickneſs, he demanded ſhipping from Ferdinand to tranſport them back into England. Ferdinand, who was bound by treaty to furniſh him with this ſupply whenever demanded, was at length, after many delays, obliged to yield to his importunity; and Dorſet, embarking his troops, prepared himſelf for the voyage. Meanwhile the meſſenger arrived with orders from Henry that the troops ſhould remain in Spain; but the ſoldiers were ſo diſcontented with the treatment which they had met with, that they mutinied, and obliged their commanders to ſet ſail for England. Henry was much diſpleaſed with the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe; and it was with difficulty that Dorſet, by explaining the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, was at laſt able to appeaſe him.

There happened this ſummer an action at ſea, which brought not any more deciſive advantage to the Engliſh. Sir Thomas Knevet, maſter of horſe, was ſent to the coaſt of Brittany with a fleet of forty-five ſail; and he carried with him ſir Charles Brandon, ſir John Carew, and many other young courtiers, who longed for an opportunity of diſplaying their valour. After they had committed ſome depredations a French fleet of thirty-nine ſail iſſued from Breſt, under the command of Primauget, and began an engagement with the Engliſh. Fire ſeized the ſhip of Primauget; who, finding his deſtruction inevitable, bore down upon the veſſel of the Engliſh admiral, and, grappling with her, reſolved to make her ſhare his fate. Both fleets ſtood ſome time in ſuſpenſe, as ſpectators of this dreadful engagement; and all men ſaw with horror the flames which conſumed both veſſels,

and heard the cries of fury and deſpair, which came from the miſerable combatants. At laſt the French veſſel blew up, and at the ſame time deſtroyed the Engliſh.[b] The reſt of the French fleet made their eſcape into different harbours.

The war which England waged againſt France, though it brought no advantage to the former kingdom, was of great prejudice to the latter; and, by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces for the defence of his own dominions, loſt him that ſuperiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had attained in Italy. Gaſton de Foix, his nephew, a young hero, had been intruſted with the command of the French forces; and in a few months performed ſuch feats of military art and proweſs as were ſufficient to render illuſtrious the life of the oldeſt captain.[c] His career finiſhed with the great battle of Ravenna, which, after the moſt obſtinate conflict, he gained over the Spaniſh and papal armies. He periſhed the very moment his victory was complete; and with him periſhed the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiſs, who had rendered themſelves extremely formidable by their bands of diſciplined infantry, invaded the Milaneſe with a numerous army, and raiſed up that inconſtant people to a revolt againſt the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of the duchy; and thus Lewis, in a few weeks, entirely loſt his Italian conqueſts, except ſome garriſons; and Maximilian Sforza, the ſon of Ludovic, was reinſtated in poſſeſſion of Milan.

LEO X. 1513.

JULIUS diſcovered extreme joy on the diſcomfiture of the French; and the more ſo as he had been beholden for it to the Swiſs, a people whoſe councils he hoped he ſhould always be able to influence and govern. The pontiff ſurvived this ſucceſs a very

little time; and in his place was choſen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X, and proved one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever ſat on the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable; the patron of every art, and friend of every virtue;[d] he had a ſoul no leſs capable of forming great deſigns than his predeceſſor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful, in employing means for the execution of them. The ſole defect, indeed, of his character was too great fineſſe and artifice; a fault which, both as a prieſt and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid. By the negociations of Leo the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French intereſt; and Henry, notwithſtanding his diſappointments in the former campaign, was ſtill encouraged to proſecute his warlike meaſures againſt Lewis.

A PARLIAMENT.

Henry had ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament,[e] and obtained a ſupply for his enterpriſe. It was a poll tax, and impoſed different ſums, according to the ſtation and riches of the perſon. A duke paid ten marks, an earl five pounds, a baron four pounds, a knight four marks, every man valued at eight hundred pounds in goods four marks. An impoſition was alſo granted of two fifteenths and four tenths.[f] By theſe ſupplies, joined to the treaſure which had been left by his father, and which was not yet entirely diſſipated, he was enabled to levy a great army, and render himſelf formidable to his enemy. The Engliſh are ſaid to have been much encouraged in this enterpriſe by the arrival of a veſſel in the Thames under the papal banner. It carried preſents of wine and hams to the king and the more eminent courtiers; and ſuch fond devotion was at that time entertained towards the court of Rome, that theſe

trivial preſents were every where received with the greateſt triumph and exultation.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

In order to prevent all diſturbances from Scotland, while Henry's arms ſhould be employed on the continent, Dr. Weſt, dean of Windſor, was diſpatched on an embaſſy to James the king's brother-in-law; and inſtructions were given him to accommodate all differences between the kingdoms, as well as to diſcover the intentions of the court of Scotland.[g] Some complaints had already been made on both ſides. One Barton, a Scotchman, having ſuffered injuries from the Portugueſe, for which he could obtain no redreſs, had procured letters of marque againſt that nation; but he had no ſooner put to ſea than he was guilty of the groſſeſt abuſes, committed depredations upon the Engliſh, and much infeſted the narrow ſeas.[h] Lord Howard and ſir Edward Howard, admirals, and ſons of the earl of Surrey, ſailing out againſt him, fought him in a deſperate action, where the pirate was killed; and they brought his ſhips into the Thames. As Henry refuſed all ſatisfaction for this act of juſtice, ſome of the borderers, who wanted but a pretence for depredations, entered England under the command of lord Hume, warden of the marches, and committed great ravages on that kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe mutual grounds of diſſatisfaction, matters might eaſily have been accommodated, had it not been for Henry's intended invaſion of France, which rouſed the jealouſy of the Scottiſh nation.[i] The ancient league, which ſubſiſted between France and Scotland, was conceived to be the ſtrongeſt band of connexion; and the Scots univerſally believed that, were it not for the countenance which they received from this foreign alliance, they had never been able ſo long to maintain

their independence againſt a people ſo much ſuperior. James was farther incited to take part in the quarrel by the invitations of Anne queen of France, whoſe knight he had ever in all tournaments profeſſed himſelf, and who ſummoned him, according to the ideas of romantic gallantry prevalent in that age, to take the field in her defence, and prove himſelf her true and valorous champion. The remonſtrances of his conſort and of his wiſeſt counſellors were in vain oppoſed to the martial ardour of this prince. He firſt ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to the aſſiſtance of France; the only fleet which Scotland ſeems ever to have poſſeſſed. And, though he ſtill made profeſſions of maintaining a neutrality, the Engliſh ambaſſador eaſily foreſaw that a war would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his maſter, who ſent the earl of Surrey to put the borders in a poſture of defence, and to reſiſt the expected invaſion of the enemy.

Henry, all on fire for military fame, was little diſcouraged by this appearance of a diverſion from the north; and ſo much the leſs as he flattered himſelf with the aſſiſtance of all the conſiderable potentates of Europe in his invaſion of France. The pope ſtill continued to thunder out his excommunications againſt Lewis, and all the adherents of the ſchiſmatical council; the Swiſs cantons made profeſſions of violent animoſity againſt France; the ambaſſadors of Ferdinand and Maximilian had ſigned with thoſe of Henry a treaty of alliance againſt that power, and had ſtipulated the time and place of their intended invaſion; and, though Ferdinand diſavowed his ambaſſador, and even ſigned a truce for a twelvemonth with the common enemy, Henry was not yet fully convinced of his ſelfiſh and ſiniſter intentions, and ſtill hoped for his concurrence after the expiration of that term. He had now got a miniſter who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered

him in every ſcheme to which his ſanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

WOLSEY MINISTER.

THOMAS Wolſey, dean of Lincoln, and almoner to the king, ſurpaſſed in favour all his miniſters, and was faſt advancing towards that unrivalled grandeur which he afterwards attained. This man was ſon of a butcher at Ipſwich; but, having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the marquis of Dorſet's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and ſoon gained the friendſhip and countenance of his patron.[k] He was recommended to be chaplain to Henry VII; and, being employed by that monarch in a ſecret negociation, which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, he acquitted himſelf to the king's ſatisfaction, and obtained the praiſe both of diligence and dexterity in his conduct.[l] That prince, having given him a commiſſion to Maximilian, who at that time reſided in Bruſſels, was ſurpriſed in leſs than three days after to ſee Wolſey preſent himſelf before him; and, ſuppoſing that he had protracted his departure, he began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. Wolſey informed him that he had juſt returned from Bruſſels, and had ſucceſsfully fulfilled all his majeſty's commands. 'But, on ſecond thoughts,' ſaid the king, 'I found that ſomewhat was omitted in your orders, and have ſent a meſſenger after you with fuller inſtructions.' 'I met the meſſenger,' replied Wolſey, 'on my return; but, as I had reflected on that omiſſion, I ventured of myſelf to execute what I knew muſt be your majeſty's intentions.' The death of Henry, ſoon after this incident, retarded the advancement of Wolſey, and prevented his reaping any advantage from the good opinion

which that monarch had entertained of him; but thenceforwards he was looked on at court as a riſing man; and Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, caſt his eye upon him as one who might be ſerviceable to him in his preſent ſituation.[m] This prelate, obſerving that the earl of Surrey had totally eclipſed him in favour, reſolved to introduce Wolſey to the young prince's familiarity, and hoped that he might rival Surrey in his inſinuating arts, and yet be contented to act in the cabinet a part ſubordinate to Fox himſelf, who had promoted him. In a little time Wolſey gained ſo much on the king, that he ſupplanted both Surrey in his favour and Fox in his truſt and confidence. Being admitted to Henry's parties of pleaſure, he took the lead in every jovial converſation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found ſuitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Neither his own years, which were near forty, nor his character of a clergyman, were any reſtraint upon him, or engaged him to check, by any uſeleſs ſeverity, the gaiety in which Henry, who had ſmall propenſion to debauchery, paſſed his careleſs hours. During the intervals of amuſement he introduced buſineſs, and inſinuated thoſe maxims of conduct which he was deſirous his maſter ſhould adopt. He obſerved to him that, while he intruſted his affairs into the hands of his father's counſellors, he had the advantage indeed of employing men of wiſdom and experience, but men who owed not their promotion to his favour, and who ſcarcely thought themſelves accountable to him for the exerciſe of their authority: that, by the factions and cabals and jealouſies which had long prevailed among them, they more obſtructed the advancement of his affairs than they promoted it by the knowledge which age and practice had conferred upon them: that, while he thought proper to paſs his time in thoſe pleaſures to which his age and royal fortune invited him, and in thoſe ſtudies which

would in time enable him to ſway the ſceptre with abſolute authority, his beſt ſyſtem of government would be to intruſt his authority into the hands of ſome one perſon who was the creature of his will, and who could entertain no view but that of promoting his ſervice: and that, if this miniſter had alſo the ſame reliſh for pleaſure with himſelf, and the ſame taſte for ſcience, he could more eaſily, at intervals, account to him for his whole conduct, and introduce his maſter gradually into the knowledge of public buſineſs; and thus, without tedious conſtraint or application, initiate him in the ſcience of government.[n]

CHARACTER OF WOLSEY.

HENRY entered into all the views of Wolſey; and, finding no one ſo capable of executing this plan of adminiſtration as the perſon who propoſed it, he ſoon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his pleaſures, to be a member of his council; and, from being a member of his council, to be his ſole and abſolute miniſter. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority the character and genius of Wolſey had full opportunity to diſplay itſelf. Inſatiable in his acquiſitions, but ſtill more magnificent in his expenſe; of extenſive capacity, but ſtill more unbounded enterpriſe; ambitious of power, but ſtill more deſirous of glory; inſinuating, engaging, perſuaſive, and by turns lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppreſſive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; leſs moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the aſcendant in every intercourſe with others; but exerted this ſuperiority of nature with ſuch oſtentation as expoſed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanneſs, of his fortune.

The branch of adminiſtration in which Henry moſt exerted himſelf, while he gave his entire confidence to Wolſey, was the military; which, as it ſuited the natural gallantry and bravery of his temper as well as the ardour of his youth, was the principal object of his attention. Finding that Lewis had made great preparations both by ſea and land to reſiſt him, he was no leſs careful to levy a formidable army and equip a conſiderable fleet for the invaſion of France. The command of the fleet was intruſted to ſir Edward Howard; who, after ſcouring the channel for ſome time, preſented himſelf before Breſt, where the French navy then lay; and he challenged them to a combat. The French admiral, who expected from the Mediterranean a reinforcement of ſome gallies under the command of Prejeant de Bidoux, kept within the harbour, and ſaw with patience the Engliſh burn and deſtroy the country in the neighbourhood. At laſt Prejeant arrived with ſix gallies, and put into Conquet, a place within a few leagues of Breſt; where he ſecured himſelf behind ſome batteries, which he had planted on rocks that lay on each ſide of him. Howard was, notwithſtanding, determined to make an attack upon him; and, as he had but two gallies, he took himſelf the command of one, and gave the other to lord Ferrars. He was followed by ſome row-barges and ſome crayers under the command of ſir Thomas Cheyney, ſir William Sidney, and other officers of diſtinction. He immediately faſtened on Prejeant's ſhip, and leaped on board of her, attended by one Carroz, a Spaniſh cavalier, and ſeventeen Engliſhmen. The cable, meanwhile, which faſtened his ſhip to that of the enemy, being cut, the admiral was thus left in the hands of the French; and, as he ſtill continued the combat with great gallantry, he was puſhed overboard by their pikes.° Lord Ferrars, ſeeing the admiral's galley fall off, followed with the other ſmall veſſels; and the whole fleet was ſo diſcouraged by the loſs of

their commander, that they retired from before Breſt.[p] The French navy came out of harbour, and even ventured to invade the coaſt of Suſſex. They were repulſed; and Prejeant, their commander, loſt an eye by the ſhot of an arrow. Lord Howard, brother to the deceaſed admiral, ſucceeded to the command of the Engliſh fleet; and little memorable paſſed at ſea during this ſummer.

Great preparations had been making at land, during the whole winter, for an invaſion on France by the way of Calais; but the ſummer was well advanced before every thing was in ſufficient readineſs for the intended enterpriſe. The long peace which the kingdom had enjoyed had ſomewhat unfitted the Engliſh for military expeditions; and the great change which had lately been introduced in the art of war had rendered it ſtill more difficult to enure them to the uſe of the weapons now employed in action. The Swiſs, and after them the Spaniards, had ſhewn the advantage of a ſtable infantry, who fought with pike and ſword, and were able to repulſe even the heavy-armed cavalry, in which the great force of the armies formerly conſiſted. The practice of fire-arms was become common; though the caliver, which was the weapon now in uſe, was ſo inconvenient, and attended with ſo many diſadvantages, that it had not entirely diſcredited the bow, a weapon in which the Engliſh excelled all European nations. A conſiderable part of the forces, which Henry levied for the invaſion of France, conſiſted of archers; and, as ſoon as affairs were in readineſs, the vanguard of the army, amounting to eight thouſand men under the command of the earl of Shrewſbury, ſailed over to Calais. Shrewſbury was accompanied by the earl of Derby, the lords Fitzwater, Haſtings, Cobham, and ſir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe. Another body of ſix thouſand men ſoon after followed under the command of lord Herbert the chamberlain, attended

by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, together with Carew. Curſon, and other gentlemen.

The king himſelf prepared to follow with the main body and rear of the army; and he appointed the queen regent of the kingdom during his abſence. That he might ſecure her adminiſtration from all diſturbance, he ordered Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, to be beheaded in the tower, the nobleman who had been attainted and impriſoned during the late reign. Henry was led to commit this act of violence by the dying commands, as is imagined, of his father, who told him that he never would be free from danger while a man of ſo turbulent a diſpoſition as Suffolk was alive. And, as Richard de la Pole, brother of Suffolk, had accepted of a command in the French ſervice, and fooliſhly attempted to revive the York faction, and to inſtigate them againſt the preſent government, he probably, by that means, drew more ſuddenly the king's vengeance on this unhappy nobleman.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

On the thirtieth of June Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham, and many others of the nobility, arrived at Calais, and entered upon his French expedition, from which he fondly expected ſo much ſucceſs and glory.[q] Of all thoſe allies on whoſe aſſiſtance he relied, the Swiſs alone fully performed their engagements. Being put in motion by a ſum of money ſent them by Henry, and incited by their victories obtained in Italy, and by their animoſity againſt France, they were preparing to enter that kingdom with an army of twenty-five thouſand men; and no equal force could be oppoſed to their incurſion. Maximilian had received an advance of one hundred and twenty thouſand

crowns from Henry, and had promiſed to reinforce the Swiſs with eight thouſand men; but failed in his engagements. That he might make atonement to the king, he himſelf appeared in the Low Countries, and joined the Engliſh army with ſome German and Flemiſh ſoldiers, who were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new levied forces. Obſerving the diſpoſition of the Engliſh monarch to be more bent on glory than on intereſt, he inliſted himſelf in his ſervice, wore the croſs of St. George, and received pay, a hundred crowns a day,* as one of his ſubjects and captains. But, while he exhibited this extraordinary ſpectacle, of an emperor of Germany ſerving under a king of England, he was treated with the higheſt reſpect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the Engliſh army.

Before the arrival of Henry and Maximilian in the camp the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert had formed the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the frontiers of Picardy; and they began to attack the place with vigour. Teligni and Crequi commanded in the town, and had a garriſon not exceeding two thouſand men; yet made they ſuch ſtout reſiſtance as protracted the ſiege a month; and they at laſt found themſelves more in danger from want of proviſions and ammunition than from the aſſaults of the beſiegers. Having conveyed intelligence of their ſituation to Lewis, who had advanced to Amiens with his army, that prince gave orders to throw relief into the place. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horſemen, each of whom carried a ſack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this ſmall force he made a ſudden and unexpected irruption into the Engliſh camp, and, ſurmounting all reſiſtance, advanced to the foſſee of the town, where each horſeman threw down his burden. They immediately returned at the gallop, and were ſo fortunate as again to break

through the Engliſh, and to ſuffer little or no loſs in this dangerous attempt.[r]

BATTLE OF GUINEGATE.

But the Engliſh had, ſoon after, full revenge for the inſult. Henry had received intelligence of the approach of the French horſe, who had advanced to protect another incurſion of Fontrailles; and he ordered ſome troops to paſs the Lis, in order to oppoſe them. The cavalry of France, though they conſiſted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many deſperate actions in Italy, were, on ſight of the enemy, ſeized with ſo unaccountable a panic, that they immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the Engliſh. The duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of diſtinction, were made priſoners.[s] This action, or rather rout, is ſometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the battle of Spurs, becauſe the French, that day, made more uſe of their ſpurs than of their ſwords or military weapons.

After ſo conſiderable an advantage the king, who was at the head of a complete army of above fifty thouſand men, might have made incurſions to the gates of Paris, and ſpread confuſion and deſolation every where. It gave Lewis great joy when he heard that the Engliſh, inſtead of puſhing their victory, and attacking the diſmayed troops of France, returned to the ſiege of ſo inconſiderable a place as Terouane. The governors were obliged, ſoon after, to capitulate; and Henry found his acquiſition of ſo little moment, though gained at the expenſe of ſome blood, and what, in his preſent circumſtances, was more important, of much valuable time, that he immediately demoliſhed

the fortifications. The anxieties of the French were again revived with regard to the motions of the Engliſh. The Swiſs, at the ſame time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and laid ſiege to Dijon, which was in no condition to reſiſt them. Ferdinand himſelf, though he had made a truce with Lewis, ſeemed diſpoſed to lay hold of every advantage which fortune ſhould preſent to him. Scarcely ever was the French monarchy in greater danger, or leſs in a condition to defend itſelf againſt thoſe powerful armies which on every ſide aſſailed or threatened it. Even many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themſelves expoſed to the rapacity and violence of the enemy, began to diſlodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater ſecurity.

But Lewis was extricated from his preſent difficulties by the manifold blunders of his enemies. The Swiſs allowed themſelves to be ſeduced into a negociation by Tremoille, governor of Burgundy; and, without making inquiry whether that nobleman had any powers to treat, they accepted of the conditions which he offered them. Tremoille, who knew that he ſhould be diſavowed by his maſter, ſtipulated whatever they were pleaſed to demand; and thought himſelf happy, at the expenſe of ſome payments and very large promiſes, to get rid of ſo formidable an enemy.[t]

The meaſures of Henry ſhewed equal ignorance in the art of war with that of the Swiſs in negociation. Tournay was a great and rich city, which, though it lay within the frontiers of Flanders, belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a paſſage into the heart of the Netherlands. Maximilian, who was deſirous of freeing his grandſon from ſo troubleſome a neighbour, adviſed Henry to lay ſiege to the place; and the Engliſh monarch, not conſidering that ſuch an acquiſition nowiſe advanced his conqueſts in France, was ſo imprudent as to follow

this intereſted counſel. The city of Tournay, by its ancient charters, being exempted from the burden of a garriſon, the burghers, againſt the remonſtrance of their ſovereign, ſtrenuouſly inſiſted on maintaining this dangerous privilege; and they engaged, by themſelves, to make a vigorous defence againſt the enemy.[u] Their courage failed them when matters came to trial; and, after a few days ſiege, the place was ſurrendered to the Engliſh. The biſhop of Tournay was lately dead; and, as a new biſhop was already elected by the chapter, but not inſtalled in his office, the king beſtowed the adminiſtration of the ſee on his favourite Wolſey, and put him in immediate poſſeſſion of the revenues, which were conſiderable.[x] Hearing of the retreat of the Swiſs, and obſerving the ſeaſon to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England; and he carried the greater part of his army with him. Succeſs had attended him in every enterpriſe; and his youthful mind was much elated with this ſeeming proſperity; but all men of judgment, comparing the advantages of his ſituation with his progreſs, his expenſe with his acquiſitions, were convinced that this campaign, ſo much vaunted, was in reality both ruinous and inglorious to him.[y]

The ſucceſs which, during this ſummer, had attended Henry's arms in the north, was much more deciſive. The king of Scotland had aſſembled the whole force of his kingdom; and, having paſſed the Tweed with a brave, though a tumultuary, army of above fifty thouſand men, he ravaged thoſe parts of Northumberland which lay neareſt that river; and he employed himſelf in taking the caſtles of Norham, Etal, Werke, Ford, and other places of ſmall importance. Lady Ford, being taken priſoner in her caſtle, was preſented to James, and ſo gained on the affections of the prince, that he waſted in pleaſure the critical time which, during the abſence of his enemy, he ſhould have

employed in puſhing his conqueſts. His troops, lying in a barren country, where they ſoon conſumed all the proviſions, began to be pinched with hunger; and, as the authority of the prince was feeble, and military diſcipline, during that age, extremely relaxed, many of them had ſtolen from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surrey, having collected a force of twenty-ſix thouſand men, of which five thouſand had been ſent over from the king's army in France, marched to the defence of the country, and approached the Scots, who lay on ſome high ground near the hills of Cheviot. The river Till ran between the armies, and prevented an engagement: Surrey, therefore, ſent a herald to the Scottiſh camp, challenging the enemy to deſcend into the plain of Milfield, which lay towards the ſouth, and there, appointing a day for the combat, to try their valour on equal ground. As he received no ſatisfactory anſwer, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick; as if he intended to enter Scotland, to lay waſte the borders, and cut off the proviſions of the enemy. The Scottiſh army, in order to prevent his purpoſe, put themſelves in motion; and, having ſet fire to the huts in which they had quartered, they deſcended from the hills. Surrey, taking advantage of the ſmoke, which was blown towards him, and which concealed his movements, paſſed the Till with his artillery and vanguard at the bridge of Twiſel, and ſent the reſt of his army to ſeek a ford higher up the river.

BATTLE OF FLOUDEN.

An engagement was now become inevitable, and both ſides prepared for it with tranquillity and order. The Engliſh divided their army into two lines: lord Howard led the main body of the firſt line, ſir Edmond Howard the right wing, ſir

Marmaduke Conſtable the left. The earl of Surrey, himſelf, commanded the main body of the ſecond line, lord Dacres the right wing, ſir Edward Stanley the left. The front of the Scots preſented three diviſions to the enemy: the middle was led by the king himſelf; the right by the earl of Huntley, aſſiſted by lord Hume; the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. A fourth diviſion, under the earl of Bothwel, made a body of reſerve. Huntley began the battle; and, after a ſharp conflict, put to flight the left wing of the Engliſh, and chaſed them off the field: but, on returning from the purſuit, he found the whole Scottiſh army in great diſorder. The diviſion under Lenox and Argyle, elated with the ſucceſs of the other wing, had broken their ranks, and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances and entreaties of La Motte, the French ambaſſador, had ruſhed headlong upon the enemy. Not only ſir Edmond Howard, at the head of his diviſion, received them with great valour, but Dacres, who commanded in the ſecond line, wheeling about during the action, fell upon their rear, and put them to the ſword without reſiſtance. The diviſion under James, and that under Bothwel, animated by the valour of their leaders, ſtill made head againſt the Engliſh, and, throwing themſelves into a circle, protracted the action, till night ſeparated the combatants. The victory ſeemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each ſide were nearly equal, amounting to above five thouſand men: but the morning diſcovered where the advantage lay. The Engliſh had loſt only perſons of ſmall note; but the flower of the Scottiſh nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himſelf, after the moſt diligent enquiry, could no where be found. In ſearching the field, the Engliſh met with a dead body which reſembled him, and was arrayed in a ſimilar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin, and ſent it to London. During ſome time it was kept unburied; becauſe James died under ſentence

of excommunication, on account of his confederacy with France, and his oppoſition to the holy ſee:[a] but, upon Henry's application, who pretended that this prince had, in the inſtant before his death, diſcovered ſigns of repentance, abſolution was given him, and his body was interred. The Scots, however, ſtill aſſerted that it was not James's body which was found on the field of battle, but that of one Elphinſton, who had been arrayed in arms reſembling their king's, in order to divide the attention of the Engliſh, and ſhare the danger with his maſter. It was believed that James had been ſeen croſſing the Tweed at Kelſo; and ſome imagined that he had been killed by the vaſſals of lord Hume, whom that nobleman had inſtigated to commit ſo enormous a crime. But the populace entertained the opinion that he was ſtill alive, and, having ſecretly gone in pilgrimage to the holy land, would ſoon return and take poſſeſſion of the throne. This fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots.

The king of Scotland and moſt of his chief nobles being ſlain in the field of Flouden, ſo this battle was called, an inviting opportunity was offered to Henry of gaining advantages over that kingdom, perhaps of reducing it to ſubjection. But he diſcovered, on this occaſion, a mind truly great and generous. When the queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her ſon, applied for peace, he readily granted it; and took compaſſion of the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter and nephew. The earl of Surrey, who had gained him ſo great a victory, was reſtored to the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father for engaging on the ſide of Richard III. Lord Howard was honoured with the title of earl of Surrey. Sir Charles Brandon, the king's favourite, whom he had before created viſcount Liſle, was now raiſed to the dignity of duke of Suffolk. Wolſey, who was both his favourite

and his miniſter, was created biſhop of Lincoln. Lord Herber obtained the title of earl of Worceſter. Sir Edward Stanley tha of lord Monteagle.

Though peace with Scotland gave Henry ſecurity on that ſide and enabled him to proſecute, in tranquillity, his enterpriſ againſt France, ſome other incidents had happened, which mor than counterbalanced this fortunate event, and ſerved to oper his eyes with regard to the raſhneſs of an undertaking into whicl his youth and high fortune had betrayed him.

Lewis, fully ſenſible of the dangerous ſituation to which hi kingdom had been reduced during the former campaign, wa reſolved, by every expedient, to prevent the return of like perils and to break the confederacy of his enemies. The pope wa nowiſe diſpoſed to puſh the French to extremity; and, provide they did not return to take poſſeſſion of Milan, his intereſt rather led him to preſerve the balance among the contendin parties. He accepted, therefore, of Lewis's offer to renounce th council of Lyons; and he took off the excommunication whicl his predeceſſor and himſelf had fulminated againſt that king an his kingdom. Ferdinand was now faſt declining in years; and as he entertained no farther ambition than that of keeping poſ ſeſſion of Navarre, which he had ſubdued by his arms and policy he readily hearkened to the propoſals of Lewis for prolongin the truce another year; and he even ſhewed an inclination c forming a more intimate connexion with that monarch. Lewi had dropped hints of his intention to marry his ſecond daughte Renee, either to Charles, prince of Spain, or his brother Ferdi nand, both of them grandſons of the Spaniſh monarch; and h declared his reſolution of beſtowing on her, as her portion, hi claim to the duchy of Milan. Ferdinand not only embrace theſe propoſals with joy, but alſo engaged the emperor Maxi milian in the ſame views, and procured his acceſſion to a treaty

which opened ſo inviting a proſpect of aggrandiſing their common grandchildren.

When Henry was informed of Ferdinand's renewal of the truce with Lewis, he fell into a violent rage, and loudly complained that his father-in-law had firſt, by high promiſes and profeſſions, engaged him in enmity with France, and afterwards, without giving him the leaſt warning, had now again ſacrificed his intereſts to his own ſelfiſh purpoſes, and had left him expoſed alone to all the danger and expenſe of the war. In proportion to his eaſy credulity, and his unſuſpecting reliance on Ferdinand, was the vehemence with which he exclaimed againſt the treatment which he met with; and he threatened revenge for this egregious treachery and breach of faith.[b] But he loſt all patience when informed of the other negociation by which Maximilian was alſo ſeduced from his alliance, and in which propoſals had been agreed to for the marriage of the prince of Spain with the daughter of France. Charles, during the lifetime of the late king, had been affianced to Mary, Henry's younger ſiſter; and, as the prince now approached the age of puberty, the king had expected the immediate completion of the marriage, and the honourable ſettlement of a ſiſter, for whom he had entertained a tender affection. Such a complication, therefore, of injuries gave him the higheſt diſpleaſure, and inſpired him with a deſire of expreſſing his diſdain towards thoſe who had impoſed on his youth and inexperience, and had abuſed his too great facility.

The duke of Longueville, who had been made priſoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who was ſtill detained in England, was ready to take advantage of all theſe diſpoſitions of Henry, in order to procure a peace, and even an alliance, which he knew to be paſſionately deſired by his maſter. He repreſented to the king that Anne, queen of France, being lately dead, a door was

thereby opened for an affinity which might tend to the advantage of both kingdoms, and which would ſerve to terminate honourably all the differences between them: that ſhe had left Lewis no male children; and, as he had ever entertained a ſtrong deſire of having heirs to the crown, no marriage ſeemed more ſuitable to him than that with the princeſs of England, whoſe youth and beauty afforded the moſt flattering hopes in that particular: that, though the marriage of a princeſs of ſixteen with a king of fifty-three might ſeem unſuitable, yet the other advantages attending the alliance were more than a ſufficient compenſation for this inequality: and that Henry, in looſening his connexions with Spain, from which he had never reaped any advantage, would contract a cloſe affinity with Lewis, a prince who, through his whole life, had invariably maintained the character of probity and honour.

PEACE WITH FRANCE. 1514.

As Henry ſeemed to hearken to this diſcourſe with willing ears, Longueville informed his maſter of the probability which he diſcovered of bringing the matter to a happy concluſion; and he received full powers for negociating the treaty. The articles were eaſily adjuſted between the monarchs. Lewis agreed that Tournay ſhould remain in the hands of the Engliſh; that Richard de la Pole ſhould be baniſhed to Metz, there to live on a penſion aſſigned him by Lewis; that Henry ſhould receive payment of a million of crowns, being the arrears due by treaty to his father and himſelf; and that the princeſs Mary ſhould bring four hundred thouſand crowns as her portion, and enjoy as large a jointure as any queen of France, even the former, who was heireſs of Brittany. The two princes alſo agreed on the ſuccours with which they ſhould mutually

ſupply each other, in caſe either of them were attacked by an enemy.[c]

In conſequence of this treaty Mary was ſent over to France with a ſplendid retinue, and Lewis met her at Abbeville, where the eſpouſals were celebrated. He was enchanted with the beauty, grace, and numerous accompliſhments, of the young princeſs; and, being naturally of an amorous diſpoſition, which his advanced age had not entirely cooled, he was ſeduced into ſuch a courſe of gaiety and pleaſure as proved very unſuitable to his declining ſtate of health.[d] He died in leſs than three months after the marriage, to the extreme regret of the French nation, who, ſenſible of his tender concern for their welfare, gave him, with one voice, the honourable appellation of 'father of his people.'

Francis, duke of Angouleme, a youth of one and twenty, who had married Lewis's eldeſt daughter, ſucceeded him on the throne; and, by his activity, valour, generoſity, and other virtues, gave prognoſtics of a happy and glorious reign. This young monarch had been extremely ſtruck with the charms of the Engliſh princeſs; and, even during his predeceſſor's lifetime, had paid her ſuch aſſiduous court as made ſome of his friends apprehend that he had entertained views of gallantry towards her. But, being warned that by indulging this paſſion he might probably exclude himſelf from the throne, he forbore all farther addreſſes; and even watched the young dowager with a very careful eye during the firſt months of her widowhood. Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, was, at that time, in the court of France the moſt comely perſonage of his time, and the moſt accompliſhed in all the exerciſes which were then thought to befit a courtier and a ſoldier. He was Henry's chief favourite; and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his ſiſter, and had given indulgence to the mutual

paſſion which took place between them. The queen aſked Suffolk whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to eſpouſe her? And ſhe told him that her brother would more eaſily forgive him for not aſking his conſent than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not ſo inviting an offer; and their nuptials were ſecretly celebrated at Paris. Francis, who was pleaſed with this marriage, as it prevented Henry from forming any powerful alliance by means of his ſiſter, interpoſed his good offices in appeaſing him: and even Wolſey, having entertained no jealouſy of Suffolk, who was content to participate in the king's pleaſures, and had no ambition to engage in public buſineſs, was active in reconciling the king to his ſiſter and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permiſſion to return to England.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY VIII.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION....SCOTCH AFFAIRS....PROGRESS OF FRANCIS I....JEALOUSY OF HENRY....TOURNAY DELIVERED TO FRANCE....WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE....HIS MANNER OF EXERCISING THAT OFFICE....DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN....CHARLES KING OF SPAIN CHOSEN EMPEROR....INTERVIEW BETWEEN HENRY AND FRANCIS NEAR CALAIS....THE EMPEROR CHARLES ARRIVES IN ENGLAND....WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS....MEDIATION OF HENRY....TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

WOLSEY'S ADMINISTRATION. 1515.

THE numerous enemies, whom Wolſey's ſudden elevation, his aſpiring character, and his haughty deportment, had raiſed him, ſerved only to rivet him faſter in Henry's confidence; who valued himſelf on ſupporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people, or to the diſcontents of the great. That artful prelate, likewiſe, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the abſolute aſcendant which he had acquired; and, while he ſecretly directed all public councils, he ever pre-

tended a blind ſubmiſſion to the will and authority of his maſter. By entering into the king's pleaſures, he preſerved his affection; by conducting his buſineſs, he gratified his indolence; and, by his unlimited complaiſance in both capacities, he prevented all that jealouſy to which his exorbitant acquiſitions, and his ſplendid oſtentatious train of life, ſhould naturally have given birth. The archbiſhopric of York falling vacant by the death of Bambridge, Wolſey was promoted to that ſee, and reſigned the biſhopric of Lincoln. Beſides enjoying the adminiſtration of Tournay, he got poſſeſſion, on eaſy leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, biſhoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reſide abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence by yielding a conſiderable ſhare of their income. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. He was even allowed to unite with the ſee of York, firſt that of Durham, next that of Winchester; and there ſeemed to be no end of his acquiſitions. His farther advancement in eccleſiaſtical dignity ſerved him as a pretence for engroſſing ſtill more revenues. The pope, obſerving his great influence over the king, was deſirous of engaging him in his intereſts, and created him a cardinal. No churchman, under colour of exacting reſpect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the ſtate and dignity of that character. His train conſiſted of eight hundred ſervants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen: ſome even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and, in order to gain them favour with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his ſervants. Whoever was diſtinguiſhed by any art or ſcience paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and, both by his public inſtitutions and private bounty, he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition.[a] Not con-

tent with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wife, he ſtrove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the ſplendour of his equipage and furniture, the coſtly embroidery of his liveries, the luſtre of his apparel. He was the firſt clergyman in England that wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit, but alſo on his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes.[b] He cauſed his cardinal's hat to be born aloft by a perſon of rank; and, when he came to the king's chapel, would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A prieſt, the talleſt and moſt comely he could find, carried before him a pillar of ſilver, on whoſe top was placed a croſs: but, not ſatisfied with this parade, to which he thought himſelf entitled as cardinal, he provided another prieſt, of equal ſtature and beauty, who marched along, bearing the croſs of York, even in the dioceſe of Canterbury; contrary to the ancient rule and the agreement between the prelates of theſe rival ſees.[c] The people made merry with the cardinal's oſtentation; and ſaid they were now ſenſible that one crucifix alone was not ſufficient for the expiation of his ſins and offences.

Warham, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a moderate temper, averſe to all diſputes, choſe rather to retire from public employment than maintain an unequal conteſt with the haughty cardinal. He reſigned his office of chancellor; and the great ſeal was immediately delivered to Wolſey. If this new accumulation of dignity increaſed his enemies, it alſo ſerved to exalt his perſonal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever diſcovered greater impartiality in his deciſions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.[d]

The duke of Norfolk, finding the king's money almoſt entirely exhauſted by projects and pleaſures, while his inclination for

expenſe ſtill continued, was glad to reſign his office of treaſurer, and retire from court. His rival, Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, reaped no advantage from his abſence; but, partly overcome by years and infirmities, partly diſguſted at the aſcendant acquired by Wolſey, withdrew himſelf wholly to the care of his dioceſe. The duke of Suffolk had alſo taken offence that the king, by the cardinal's perſuaſion, had refuſed to pay a debt which he had contracted during his reſidence in France; and he thenceforth affected to live in privacy. Theſe incidents left Wolſey to enjoy, without a rival, the whole power and favour of the king; and they put into his hands every kind of authority. In vain did Fox, before his retirement, warn the king 'not to ſuffer the ſervant to be greater than his maſter:' Henry replied that 'he well knew how to retain all his ſubjects in obedience;' but he continued ſtill an unlimited deference in every thing to the directions and counſels of the cardinal.

The public tranquillity was ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, the obedience of the people ſo entire, the general adminiſtration of juſtice by the cardinal's means[e] ſo exact, that no domeſtic occurrence happened conſiderable enough to diſturb the repoſe of the king and his miniſter: they might even have diſpenſed with giving any ſtrict attention to foreign affairs, were it poſſible for men to enjoy any ſituation in abſolute tranquillity, or abſtain from projects and enterpriſes, however fruitleſs and unneceſſary.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

THE will of the late king of Scotland, who left his widow regent of the kingdom, and the vote of the convention of ſtates, which confirmed that deſtination, had expreſsly limited her authority to the condition of her remaining unmarried;[f] but, notwithſtanding this limitation, a few months after her huſband's

death ſhe eſpouſed the earl of Angus, of the name of Douglas, a young nobleman of great family and promiſing hopes. Some of the nobility now propoſed the electing of Angus to the regency, and recommended this choice as the moſt likely means of preſerving peace with England; but the jealouſy of the great families, and the fear of exalting the Douglaſſes, begat oppoſition to this meaſure. Lord Hume, in particular, the moſt powerful chieftain in the kingdom, inſiſted on recalling the duke of Albany, ſon to a brother of James III, who had been baniſhed into France, and who, having there married, had left poſterity that were the next heirs to the crown, and the neareſt relations to their young ſovereign. Albany, though firſt prince of the blood, had never been in Scotland, was totally unacquainted with the manners of the people, ignorant of their ſituation, unpractiſed in their language; yet ſuch was the favour attending the French alliance, and ſo great the authority of Hume, that this prince was invited to accept the reins of government. Francis, careful not to give offence to the king of England, detained Albany ſome time in France; but at length, ſenſible how important it was to keep Scotland in his intereſts, he permitted him to go over and take poſſeſſion of the regency: he even renewed the ancient league with that kingdom, though it implied ſuch a cloſe connexion as might be thought ſomewhat to intrench on his alliance with England.

When the regent arrived in Scotland he made inquiries concerning the ſtate of the country and character of the people; and he diſcovered a ſcene with which he was hitherto but little acquainted. That turbulent kingdom, he found, was rather to be conſidered as a confederacy, and that not a cloſe one, of petty princes, than a regular ſyſtem of civil polity; and even the king, much more a regent, poſſeſſed an authority very uncertain and precarious. Arms more than laws prevailed; and courage,

preferably to equity or juſtice, was the virtue moſt valued and reſpected. The nobility, in whom the whole power reſided, were ſo connected by hereditary alliances, or ſo divided by inveterate enmities, that it was impoſſible, without employing an armed force, either to puniſh the moſt flagrant guilt, or give ſecurity to the moſt entire innocence. Rapine and violence, when exerciſed on a hoſtile tribe, inſtead of making a perſon odious among his own clan, rather recommended him to their eſteem and approbation; and, by rendering him uſeful to the chieftain, entitled him to a preference above his fellows. And, though the neceſſity of mutual ſupport ſerved as a cloſe cement of amity among thoſe of the ſame kindred, the ſpirit of revenge againſt enemies, and the deſire of proſecuting the deadly feuds (ſo they were called), ſtill appeared to be paſſions the moſt predominant among that uncultivated people.

The perſons, to whom Albany on his arrival firſt applied for information with regard to the ſtate of the country, happened to be inveterate enemies of Hume;[g] and they repreſented that powerful nobleman as the chief ſource of public diſorders, and the great obſtacle to the execution of the laws and the adminiſtration of juſtice. Before the authority of the magiſtrate could be eſtabliſhed, it was neceſſary, they ſaid, to make an example of this great offender; and, by the terror of his puniſhment, teach all leſſer criminals to pay reſpect to the power of their ſovereign. Albany, moved by theſe reaſons, was induced to forget Hume's paſt ſervices, to which he had in a great meaſure been indebted for the regency; and he no longer bore towards him that favourable countenance with which he was wont to receive him. Hume perceived the alteration, and was incited, both by regard to his own ſafety and from motives of revenge, to take meaſures in oppoſition to the regent. He applied himſelf to Angus and the queen dowager, and repre-

ſented to them the danger to which the infant prince was expoſed from the ambition of Albany, next heir to the crown, to whom the ſtates had imprudently intruſted the whole authority of government. By his perſuaſion Margaret formed the deſign of carrying off the young king, and putting him under the protection of her brother; and, when that conſpiracy was detected, ſhe herſelf, attended by Hume and Angus, withdrew into England, where ſhe was ſoon after delivered of a daughter.

Henry, in order to check the authority of Albany and the French party, gave encouragement to theſe malcontents, and aſſured them of his ſupport. Matters being afterwards in appearance accommodated between Hume and the regent, that nobleman returned into his own country; but mutual ſuſpicions and jealouſies ſtill prevailed. He was committed to cuſtody, under the care of the earl of Arran his brother-in-law, and was for ſome time detained priſoner in his caſtle; but, having perſuaded Arran to enter into the conſpiracy with him, he was allowed to make his eſcape; and he openly levied war upon the regent. A new accommodation enſued, not more ſincere than the foregoing; and Hume was ſo imprudent as to intruſt himſelf, together with his brother, into the hands of that prince. They were immediately ſeized, committed to cuſtody, brought to trial, condemned and executed. No legal crime was proved againſt theſe brothers: it was only alleged that at the battle of Flouden they had not done their duty in ſupporting the king; and, as this backwardneſs could not, from the courſe of their paſt life, be aſcribed to cowardice, it was commonly imputed to a more criminal motive. The evidence, however, of guilt produced againſt them was far from being valid or convincing; and the people, who hated them while living, were much diſſatisfied with their execution.

Such violent remedies often produce, for ſome time, a deceitful tranquillity; but, as they deſtroy mutual confidence, and beget the moſt inveterate animoſities, their conſequences are commonly fatal, both to the public and to thoſe who have recourſe to them. The regent, however, took advantage of the preſent calm which prevailed; and, being invited over by the French king, who was at that time willing to gratify Henry, he went into France, and was engaged to remain there for ſome years. During the abſence of the regent ſuch confuſions prevailed in Scotland, and ſuch mutual enmity, rapine, and violence, among the great families, that that kingdom was for a long time utterly diſabled, both from offending its enemies and aſſiſting its friends. We have carried on the Scottiſh hiſtory ſome years beyond the preſent period; that, as that country had little connexion with the general ſyſtem of Europe, we might be the leſs interrupted in the narration of thoſe more memorable events which were tranſacted in the other kingdoms.

PROGRESS OF FRANCIS I.

It was foreſeen that a young active prince like Francis, and of ſo martial a diſpoſition, would ſoon employ the great preparations which his predeceſſor before his death had made for the conqueſt of Milan. He had been obſerved even to weep at the recital of the military exploits of Gaſton de Foix; and theſe tears of emulation were held to be ſure preſages of his future valour. He renewed the treaty which Lewis had made with Henry; and, having left every thing ſecure behind him, he marched his armies towards the ſouth of France, pretending that his ſole purpoſe was to defend his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Swiſs. This formidable people ſtill retained their animoſity againſt France; and, having taken Maximilian duke of

Milan under their protection, and in reality reduced him to abſolute dependance, they were determined, from views both of honour and of intereſt, to defend him againſt the invader.[h] They fortified themſelves in all thoſe valleys of the Alps through which they thought the French muſt neceſſarily paſs; and, when Francis, with great ſecreſy, induſtry, and perſeverance, made his entrance into Piedmont by another paſſage, they were not diſmayed, but deſcended into the plain, though unprovided with cavalry, and oppoſed themſelves to the progreſs of the French arms. At Marignan, near Milan, on the thirteenth of September, they fought with Francis one of the moſt furious and beſt conteſted battles that is to be met with in the hiſtory of theſe later ages; and it required all the heroic valour of this prince to inſpire his troops with courage ſufficient to reſiſt the deſperate aſſault of thoſe mountaineers. After a bloody action in the evening, night and darkneſs parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiſs renewed the attack with unabated ardour; and it was not till they had loſt all their braveſt troops that they could be prevailed on to retire. The field was ſtrewed with twenty thouſand ſlain on both ſides; and the mareſchal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, declared that every engagement which he had yet ſeen was only the play of children; the action of Marignan was a combat of heroes.[i] After this great victory the conqueſt of the Milaneſe was eaſy and open to Francis.

JEALOUSY OF HENRY.

The ſucceſs and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealouſy in Henry; and his rapid progreſs, though in ſo diſtant a country, was not regarded without apprehenſions by the Engliſh miniſtry. Italy was, during that age, the ſeat of religion, of

literature, and of commerce; and, as it poſſeſſed alone that luſtre which has ſince been ſhared out among other nations, it attracted the attention of all Europe; and every acquiſition, which was made there, appeared more important than its weight in the balance of power was, ſtrictly ſpeaking, entitled to. Henry alſo thought that he had reaſon to complain of Francis for ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland, and undermining the power and credit of his ſiſter the queen dowager.[k] The repairing of the fortifications of Terouenne was likewiſe regarded as a breach of treaty. But, above all, what tended to alienate the court of England was the diſguſt which Wolſey had entertained againſt the French monarch.

Henry, on the conqueſt of Tournay, had refuſed to admit Lewis Gaillart, the biſhop elect, to the poſſeſſion of the temporalities, becauſe that prelate declined taking the oath of allegiance to his new ſovereign; and Wolſey was appointed, as above related, adminiſtrator of the biſhopric. As the cardinal wiſhed to obtain the free and undiſturbed enjoyment of this revenue, he applied to Francis, and deſired him to beſtow on Gaillart ſome ſee of equal value in France, and to obtain his reſignation of Tournay. Francis, who ſtill hoped to recover poſſeſſion of that city, and who feared that the full eſtabliſhment of Wolſey in the biſhopric would prove an obſtacle to his purpoſe, had hitherto neglected to gratify the haughty prelate; and the biſhop of Tournay, by applying to the court of Rome, had obtained a bull for his ſettlement in the ſee. Wolſey, who expected to be indulged in every requeſt, and who exacted reſpect from the greateſt princes, reſented the ſlight put upon him by Francis; and he puſhed his maſter to ſeek an occaſion of quarrel with that monarch.[l]

Maximilian the emperor was ready to embrace every overture for a new enterpriſe; eſpecially if attended with an offer

of money, of which he was very greedy, very prodigal, and very indigent. Richard Pace, formerly ſecretary to cardinal Bambridge, and now ſecretary of ſtate, was diſpatched to the court of Vienna, and had a commiſſion to propoſe ſome conſiderable payments to Maximilian:[m] he thence made a journey into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged ſome of the cantons to furniſh troops to the emperor. That prince invaded Italy with a conſiderable army; but, being repulſed from before Milan, he retreated with his army into Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a ſum of money, and thus excluded himſelf in ſome meaſure from all future acceſs into Italy. And Henry found that, after expending five or ſix hundred thouſand ducats in order to gratify his own and the cardinal's humour, he had only weakened his alliance with Francis, without diminiſhing the power of that prince.

There were many reaſons which engaged the king not to proceed farther at preſent in his enmity againſt France; he could hope for aſſiſtance from no power in Europe. Ferdinand, his father-in-law, who had often deceived him, was declining through age and infirmities; and a ſpeedy period was looked for to the long and proſperous reign of that great monarch. Charles prince of Spain, ſovereign of the Low Countries, deſired nothing but peace with Francis, who had it ſo much in his power, if provoked, to obſtruct his peaceable acceſſion to that rich inheritance which was awaiting him. The pope was overawed by the power of France, and Venice was engaged in a cloſe alliance with that monarchy.[n] Henry, therefore, was conſtrained to remain in tranquillity during ſome time; and ſeemed to give himſelf no concern with regard to the affairs of the continent. In vain did Maximilian endeavour to allure him into ſome expenſe, by offering to make a reſignation of the imperial crown in his favour. The artifice was too groſs to ſucceed, even with a prince ſo little

politic as Henry; and Pace, his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the ſole view of that prince, in making him ſo liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

While an univerſal peace prevailed in Europe, that event happened which had ſo long been looked for, and from which ſuch important conſequences were expected, the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the ſucceſſion of his grandſon Charles to his extenſive dominions. The more Charles advanced in power and authority, the more was Francis ſenſible of the neceſſity he himſelf lay under of gaining the confidence and friendſhip of Henry; and he took at laſt the only method by which he could obtain ſucceſs, the paying of court by preſents and flattery to the haughty cardinal.

Bonnivet, admiral of France, was diſpatched to London, and he was directed to employ all his inſinuation and addreſs, qualities in which he excelled, to procure himſelf a place in Wolſey's good graces. After the ambaſſador had ſucceeded in his purpoſe, he took an opportunity of expreſſing his maſter's regret, that by miſtakes and miſapprehenſions he had been ſo unfortunate as to loſe a friendſhip which he ſo much valued as that of his eminence. Wolſey was not deaf to theſe honourable advances from ſo great a monarch; and he was thenceforth obſerved to expreſs himſelf on all occaſions in favour of the French alliance. The more to engage him in his intereſts, Francis entered into ſuch confidence with him, that he aſked his advice even in his moſt ſecret affairs; and had recourſe to him in all difficult emergencies as to an oracle of wiſdom and profound policy. The cardinal made no ſecret to the king of this private correſpondence; and Henry was ſo prepoſſeſſed in favour of the great capacity of his miniſter, that he ſaid he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himſelf.°

When matters ſeemed ſufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the cardinal his maſter's deſire of recovering Tournay; and Wolſey immediately, without heſitation, engaged to effect his purpoſe. He took an opportunity of repreſenting to the king and council that Tournay lay ſo remote from Calais, that it would be very difficult, if not impoſſible, in caſe of war, to keep the communication open between theſe two places; that, as it was ſituated on the frontiers both of France and the Netherlands, it was expoſed to attacks from both theſe countries, and muſt neceſſarily, either by force or famine, fall into the hands of the firſt aſſailant; that, even in time of peace, it could not be preſerved without a large garriſon to reſtrain the numerous and mutinous inhabitants, ever diſcontented with the Engliſh government; and that the poſſeſſion of Tournay, as it was thus precarious and expenſive, ſo was it entirely uſeleſs, and afforded little or no means of annoying, on occaſion, the dominions either of Charles or of Francis.

TOURNAY CEDED TO FRANCE. 1518.

These reaſons were of themſelves convincing, and were ſure of meeting with no oppoſition when they came from the mouth of the cardinal. A treaty, therefore, was entered into for the ceding of Tournay; and, in order to give to that meaſure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the princeſs Mary, both of them infants, ſhould be betrothed, and that this city ſhould be conſidered as the dowry of the princeſs. Such kinds of agreement were then common among ſovereigns, though it was very rare that the intereſts and views of the parties continued ſo ſteady as to render the intended marriages effectual. But, as Henry had been at conſiderable expenſe in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him ſix

hundred thouſand crowns at twelve annual payments, and to put into his hands eight hoſtages, all of them men of quality, for the performance of the article;[p] and, leſt the cardinal ſhould think himſelf neglected in theſe ſtipulations, Francis promiſed him a yearly penſion of twelve thouſand livres, as an equivalent for his adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Tournay.

The French monarch, having ſucceeded ſo well in this negociation, began to enlarge his views, and to hope for more conſiderable advantages, by practiſing on the vanity and ſelf-conceit of the favourite. He redoubled his flatteries to the cardinal; conſulted him more frequently in every doubt or difficulty, called him in each letter 'father, tutor, governor,' and profeſſed the moſt unbounded deference to his advice and opinion. All theſe careſſes were preparatives to a negociation for the delivery of Calais, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be paid for it; and, if we may credit Polydore Virgil, who bears a particular ill-will to Wolſey, on account of his being diſpoſſeſſed of his employment and thrown into priſon by that miniſter, ſo extraordinary a propoſal met with a favourable reception from the cardinal. He ventured not, however, to lay the matter before the council; he was content to ſound privately the opinion of the other miniſters, by dropping hints in converſation as if he thought Calais a uſeleſs burden to the kingdom:[q] but, when he found that all men were ſtrongly riveted in a contrary perſuaſion, he thought it dangerous to proceed any farther in his purpoſe; and, as he fell ſoon after into new connexions with the king of Spain, the great friendſhip between Francis and him began gradually to decline.

WOLSEY APPOINTED LEGATE.

The pride of Wolſey was now farther increaſed by a great acceſſion of power and dignity. Cardinal Campeggio had been

ſent as legate into England, in order to procure a tithe from the clergy, for enabling the pope to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks; a danger which was become real, and was formidable to all Chriſtendom; but on which the politics of the court of Rome had built ſo many intereſted projects, that it had loſt all influence on the minds of men. The clergy refuſed to comply with Leo's demands; Campeggio was recalled; and the king deſired of the pope that Wolſey, who had been joined in this commiſſion, might alone be inveſted with the legantine power, together with the right of viſiting all the clergy and monaſteries, and even with ſuſpending all the laws of the church during a twelvemonth. Wolſey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new diſplay of that ſtate and parade to which he was ſo much addicted. On ſolemn feaſt days he was not content without ſaying maſs after the manner of the pope himſelf: not only he had biſhops and abbots to ſerve him; he even engaged the firſt nobility to give him water and the towel. He affected a rank ſuperior to what had ever been claimed by any churchman in England. Warham the primate having written him a letter, in which he ſubſcribed himſelf 'your loving brother,' Wolſey complained of his preſumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he made light of the matter. 'Know ye not,' ſaid he, 'that this man is drunk with too much proſperity?'

HIS MANNER OF EXERCISING THAT OFFICE.

But Wolſey carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and oſtentation. He erected an office, which he called the legantine court; and, as he was now, by means of the pope's commiſſion and the king's favour, inveſted with all power, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be

ſet to the authority of his new tribunal. He conferred on it a kind of inquiſitorial and cenſorial powers even over the laity and directed it to inquire into all matters of conſcience; into all conduct which had given ſcandal; into all actions which, though they eſcaped the law, might appear contrary to good morals. Offence was taken at this commiſſion, which was really unbounded; and the people were the more diſguſted when they ſaw a man who indulged himſelf in pomp and pleaſure ſo ſevere in repreſſing the leaſt appearance of licentiouſneſs in others. But, to render his court more obnoxious, Wolſey made one John Allen judge in it; a perſon of ſcandalous life,[r] whom he himſelf as chancellor, had, it is ſaid, condemned for perjury: and, as it is pretended that this man either extorted fines from every one whom he was pleaſed to find guilty, or took bribes to drop proſecutions, men concluded, and with ſome appearance of reaſon that he ſhared with the cardinal thoſe wages of iniquity. The clergy, and in particular the monks, were expoſed to this tyranny; and, as the libertiniſm of their lives often gave a juſt handle againſt them, they were obliged to purchaſe an indemnity, by paying large ſums of money to the legate or his judge. Not content with this authority, Wolſey pretended, by virtue of his commiſſion, to aſſume the juriſdiction of all the biſhops' courts particularly that of judging of wills and teſtaments; and his deciſions in thoſe important points were deemed not a little arbitrary. As if he himſelf were pope, and as if the pope could abſolutely diſpoſe of every eccleſiaſtical preferment, he preſented to whatever priories or benefices he pleaſed, without regard to the right of election in the monks, or of patronage in the nobility and gentry.[s]

No one durſt carry to the king any complaint againſt theſe uſurpations of Wolſey till Warham ventured to inform him of the diſcontents of his people. Henry profeſſed his ignorance

of the whole matter. 'A man,' ſaid he, 'is not ſo blind any where as in his own houſe: but do you, father,' added he to the primate, 'go to Wolſey, and tell him, if any thing be amiſs, that he amend it.' A reproof of this kind was not likely to be effectual; it only ſerved to augment Wolſey's enmity to Warham: but one London having proſecuted Allen, the legate's judge, in a court of law, and having convicted him of malverſation and iniquity, the clamour at laſt reached the king's ears; and he expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure to the cardinal as made him ever after more cautious in exerting his authority.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN. 1519.

While Henry, indulging himſelf in pleaſure and amuſement, intruſted the government of his kingdom to this imperious miniſter, an incident happened abroad which excited his attention. On the twelfth of January Maximilian the emperor died; a man who, of himſelf, was indeed of little conſequence; but, as his death left vacant the firſt ſtation among Chriſtian princes, it ſet the paſſions of men in agitation, and proved a kind of era in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promiſed them ſucceſs in ſo great a point of ambition. Henry alſo was encouraged to advance his pretenſions; but his miniſter Pace, who was diſpatched to the electors, found that he began to ſolicit too late, and that the votes of all theſe princes were already pre-engaged either on one ſide or the other.

CHARLES KING OF SPAIN CHOSEN EMPEROR.

FRANCIS and Charles made profeſſion from the beginning of carrying on this rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity; and Francis, in particular, declared that his brother Charles and he were, fairly and openly, ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: 'The more fortunate,' added he, 'will carry her;' the other muſt reſt contented.' But all men apprehended that this extreme moderation, however reaſonable, would not be of long duration; and that incidents would certainly occur to ſharpen the minds of the candidates againſt each other. It was Charles who at length prevailed, to the great diſguſt of the French monarch, who ſtill continued to the laſt in the belief that the majority of the electorial college was engaged in his favour. And, as he was ſome years ſuperior in age to his rival, and, after his victory at Marignan and conqueſt of the Milaneſe, much ſuperior in renown, he could not ſuppreſs his indignation at being thus, in the face of the world, after long and anxious expectation, diſappointed in ſo important a pretenſion. From this competition, as much as from oppoſition of intereſts, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs, which, while it kept their whole age in movement, ſets them in ſo remarkable a contraſt to each other: both of them princes endowed with talents and abilities; brave, aſpiring, active, warlike; beloved by their ſervants and ſubjects, dreaded by their enemies, and reſpected by all the world: Francis, open, frank, liberal, munificent, carrying theſe virtues to an exceſs which prejudiced his affairs: Charles, political, cloſe, artful, frugal; better qualified to obtain ſucceſs in wars and in negociations, eſpecially the latter. The one the more amiable man; the other the greater monarch. The king, from his overſights and indiſcretions, naturally expoſed to mis-

fortunes; but qualified by his ſpirit and magnanimity to extricate himſelf from them with honour: the emperor, by his deſigning intereſted character, fitted, in his greateſt ſucceſſes, to excite jealouſy and oppoſition even among his allies, and to rouſe up a multitude of enemies in the place of one whom he had ſubdued. And, as the perſonal qualities of theſe princes thus counterpoiſed each other, ſo did the advantages and diſadvantages of their dominions. Fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valour, never reared up, of a ſudden, ſo great a power as that which centered in the emperor Charles. He reaped the ſucceſſion of Caſtile, of Arragon, of Auſtria, of the Netherlands; he inherited the conqueſt of Naples, of Granada; election entitled him to the empire; even the bounds of the globe ſeemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might poſſeſs the whole treaſure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the new world. But, though the concurrence of all theſe advantages formed an empire, greater and more extenſive than any known in Europe ſince that of the Romans, the kingdom of France alone, being cloſe, compact, united, rich, populous, and being interpoſed between the provinces of the emperor's dominions, was able to make a vigorous oppoſition to his progreſs, and maintain the conteſt againſt him.

Henry poſſeſſed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its ſituation, to hold the balance between thoſe two powers; and, had he known to improve, by policy and prudence, this ſingular and ineſtimable advantage, he was really, by means of it, a greater potentate than either of thoſe mighty monarchs, who ſeemed to ſtrive for the dominion of Europe. But this prince was, in his character, heedleſs, inconſiderate, capricious, impolitic; guided by his paſſions or his favourite; vain, imperious, haughty; ſometimes actuated by friendſhip for foreign powers, oftener by reſentment, ſeldom by his

true intereſt. And thus, though he exulted in that ſuperiority which his ſituation in Europe gave him, he never employed it to his own eſſential and durable advantage, or to that of his kingdom.

INTERVIEW OF HENRY AND FRANCIS AT CALAIS. 1520.

FRANCIS was well acquainted with Henry's character, and endeavoured to accommodate his conduct to it. He ſolicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar converſation, to gain upon his friendſhip and confidence. Wolſey earneſtly ſeconded this propoſal; and hoped, in the preſence of both courts, to make parade of his riches, his ſplendour, and his influence, over both monarchs.[u] And, as Henry himſelf loved ſhew and magnificence, and had entertained a curioſity of being perſonally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjuſted all the preliminaries of this interview. The nobility of both nations vied with each other in pomp and expenſe: many of them involved themſelves in great debts, and were not able, by the penury of their whole lives, to repair the vain ſplendour of a few days. The duke of Buckingham, who, though very rich, was ſomewhat addicted to frugality, finding his preparations for this feſtival amount to immenſe ſums, threw out ſome expreſſions of diſpleaſure againſt the cardinal, whom he believed the author of that meaſure;[x] an imprudence which was not forgotten by this miniſter.

THE EMPEROR CHARLES ARRIVES IN ENGLAND.

ON the twenty-fifth of May, while Henry was preparing to depart for Calais, he heard that the emperor was arrived at Dover; and he immediately haſtened thither with the queen, in order

to give a ſuitable reception to his royal gueſt. That great prince, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehenſive of the conſequences, and was reſolved to take the opportunity, in his paſſage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the king ſtill a higher compliment, by paying him a viſit in his own dominions. Beſides the marks of regard and attachment which he gave to Henry, he ſtrove, by every teſtimony of friendſhip, by flattery, proteſtations, promiſes, and preſents, to gain on the vanity, the avarice, and the ambition, of the cardinal. He here inſtilled into this aſpiring prelate the hope of attaining the papacy; and, as that was the ſole point of elevation beyond his preſent greatneſs, it was ſure to attract his wiſhes with the ſame ardour as if fortune had never yet favoured him with any of her preſents. In confidence of reaching this dignity by the emperor's aſſiſtance, he ſecretly devoted himſelf to that monarch's intereſts; and Charles was perhaps the more liberal of his promiſes becauſe Leo was a very young man; and it was not likely that for many years he ſhould be called upon to fulfil his engagements. Henry eaſily obſerved this courtſhip paid to his miniſter; but, inſtead of taking umbrage at it, he only made it a ſubject of vanity; and believed that, as his favour was Wolſey's ſole ſupport, the obeiſance of ſuch mighty monarchs to his ſervant was in reality a more conſpicuous homage to his own grandeur.

On the thirtieth of May, the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guiſnes, a ſmall town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles diſtant; and the two monarchs met, for the firſt time, in the fields, at a place ſituated between theſe two towns, but ſtill within the Engliſh pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compli-

ment to Henry, in conſideration of that prince's paſſing the ſea that he might be preſent at the interview. Wolſey, to whom both kings had intruſted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumſtance in order to do honour to his maſter. The nobility, both of France and England, here diſplayed their magnificence with ſuch emulation and profuſe expenſe as procured to the place of interview the name of 'the field of the cloth of gold.'

The two monarchs, after ſaluting each other in the moſt cordial manner, retired into a tent which had been erected on purpoſe, and they held a ſecret conference together. Henry here propoſed to make ſome amendments on the articles of their former alliance; and he began to read the treaty, 'I Henry, king.' Theſe were the firſt words; and he ſtopped a moment. He ſubjoined only the words 'of England,' without adding France, the uſual ſtyle of the Engliſh monarchs.[y] Francis remarked this delicacy, and expreſſed by a ſmile his approbation of it.

He took an opportunity ſoon after of paying a compliment to Henry of a more flattering nature. That generous prince, full of honour himſelf, and incapable of diſtruſting others, was ſhocked at all the precautions which were obſerved whenever he had an interview with the Engliſh monarch: the number of their guards and attendants was carefully reckoned on both ſides; every ſtep was ſcrupulouſly meaſured and adjuſted; and, if the two kings intended to pay a viſit to the queens, they departed from their reſpective quarters at the ſame inſtant, which was marked by the firing of a culverin; they paſſed each other in the middle point between the places; and the moment that Henry entered Ardres Francis put himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh at Guiſnes. In order to break off this tedious ceremonial, which contained ſo many diſhonourable implications, Francis one day took with him two gentlemen and a page, and rode

directly into Guiſnes. The guards were ſurpriſed at the preſence of the monarch, who called aloud to them, 'You are all my priſoners; carry me to your maſter.' Henry was equally aſtoniſhed at the appearance of Francis; and, taking him in his arms, 'My brother,' ſaid he, 'you have here played me the moſt agreeable trick in the world, and have ſhewed me the full confidence I may place in you: I ſurrender myſelf your priſoner from this moment.' He took from his neck a collar of pearls worth fifteen thouſand angels;[z] and, putting it about Francis's, begged him to wear it for the ſake of his priſoner. Francis agreed; but on condition that Henry ſhould wear a bracelet, of which he made him a preſent, and which was double in value to the collar.[a] The king went next day to Ardres without guards or attendants; and, confidence being now fully eſtabliſhed between the monarchs, they employed the reſt of the time entirely in tournaments and feſtivals.

A defiance had been ſent by the two kings to each other's court, and through all the chief cities in Europe, importing that Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would be ready, in the plains of Picardy, to anſwer all comers, that were gentlemen, at tilt, tournament, and barriers. The monarchs, in order to fulfil this challenge, advanced into the field on horſeback, Francis ſurrounded with Henry's guards, and Henry with thoſe of Francis. They were gorgeouſly apparelled; and were both of them the moſt comely perſonages of their age, as well as the moſt expert in every military exerciſe. They carried away the prize at all trials in thoſe rough and dangerous paſtimes; and ſeveral horſes and riders were overthrown by their vigour and dexterity. The ladies were the judges in theſe feats of chivalry, and put an end to the rencounter whenever they judged it expedient. Henry erected a ſpacious houſe of wood and canvas, which had been framed in London; and he there feaſted the French mo-

narch. He had placed a motto on this fabric, under the figure of an Engliſh archer embroidered on it, 'Cui adhæreo præeſt; He prevails [b] whom I favour.' Expreſſing his own ſituation, as holding in his hands the balance of power among the potentates of Europe. In theſe entertainments, more than in any ſerious buſineſs, did the two kings paſs their time till their departure on the twenty-fourth of June.

Henry paid then a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and paſs ſome days in that fortreſs. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impreſſion which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. As the houſe of Auſtria began ſenſibly to take the aſcendant over the French monarchy, the intereſts of England required that ſome ſupport ſhould be given to the latter; and, above all, that any important wars ſhould be prevented, which might beſtow on either of them a deciſive ſuperiority over the other. But the jealouſy of the Engliſh againſt France has uſually prevented a cordial union between theſe nations: and Charles, ſenſible of this hereditary animoſity, and deſirous farther to flatter Henry's vanity, had made him an offer (an offer in which Francis was afterwards obliged to concur) that he ſhould be entirely arbiter in any diſpute or difference that might ariſe between the monarchs. But the maſterpiece of Charles's politics was the ſecuring of Wolſey in his intereſts by very important ſervices and ſtill higher promiſes. He renewed aſſurances of aſſiſting him in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues belonging to the ſees of Badajox and Placentia in Caſtile. The acquiſitions of Wolſey were now become ſo exorbitant, that, joined to the penſions from foreign powers, which Henry allowed him to poſſeſs, his revenues were

computed nearly equal to thoſe which belonged to the crown itſelf; and he ſpent them with a magnificence, or rather an oſtentation, which gave general offence to the people, and even leſſened his maſter in the eyes of all foreign nations.[c]

WAR BETWEEN CHARLES AND FRANCIS.

THE violent perſonal emulation and political jealouſy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king ſoon broke out in hoſtilities. But, while theſe ambitious and warlike princes were acting againſt each other in almoſt every part of Europe, they ſtill made profeſſions of the ſtrongeſt deſire of peace; and both of them inceſſantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them.

MEDIATION OF HENRY. 1521.

THE king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Calais, there to negociate a peace under the mediation of Wolſey and the pope's nuncio. The emperor was well appriſed of the partiality of theſe mediators; and his demands in the conference were ſo unreaſonable, as plainly proved him conſcious of the advantage. He required the reſtitution of Burgundy, a province which many years before had been ceded to France by treaty, and which, if in his poſſeſſion, would have given him entrance into the heart of that kingdom; and he demanded to be freed from the homage which his anceſtors had always done for Flanders and Artois, and which he himſelf had, by the treaty of Noyon, engaged to renew. On Francis's rejecting theſe terms, the congreſs of Calais broke up, and Wolſey ſoon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor. He was received with the ſame ſtate, mag-

nificence, and reſpect, as if he had been the king of England himſelf; and he concluded, in his maſter's name, an offenſive alliance with the pope and the emperor againſt France. He ſtipulated that England ſhould next ſummer invade that kingdom with forty thouſand men; and he betrothed to Charles the princeſs Mary, the king's only child, who had now ſome proſpect of inheriting the crown. This extravagant alliance, which was prejudicial to the intereſts, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence, of the kingdom, was the reſult of the humours and prejudices of the king, and the private views and expectations of the cardinal.

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM'S TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION.

THE people ſaw every day new inſtances of the uncontrolled authority of this miniſter. The duke of Buckingham, conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman both for family and fortune in the kingdom, had imprudently given diſguſt to the cardinal; and it was not long before he found reaſon to repent of his indiſcretion. He ſeems to have been a man full of levity and raſh projects; and, being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he entertained a commerce with one Hopkins, a Carthuſian friar, who encouraged him in the notion of his mounting one day the throne of England. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Gloceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III; and, though his claim to the crown was thereby very remote, he had been ſo unguarded as to let fall ſome expreſſions as if he thought himſelf beſt entitled, in caſe the king ſhould die without iſſue, to poſſeſs the royal dignity. He had not even abſtained from threats againſt the king's life, and had provided himſelf with arms, which he intended to employ in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. He was brought to a trial; and the duke

of Norfolk, whoſe ſon, the earl of Surrey, had married Buckingham's daughter, was created lord ſteward, in order to preſide at this ſolemn procedure. The jury conſiſted of a duke, a marquis, ſeven earls, and twelve barons; and they gave their verdict againſt Buckingham, which was ſoon after carried into execution. There is no reaſon to think the ſentence unjuſt;[d] but, as Buckingham's crimes ſeem to proceed more from indiſcretion than deliberate malice, the people, who loved him, expected that the king would grant him a pardon, and imputed their diſappointment to the animoſity and revenge of the cardinal. The king's own jealouſy, however, of all perſons allied to the crown, was, notwithſtanding his undoubted title, very remarkable during the whole courſe of his reign, and was alone ſufficient to render him implacable againſt Buckingham. The office of conſtable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HENRY VIII.

DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE....ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION....MARTIN LUTHER....HENRY RECEIVES THE TITLE OF DEFENDER OF THE FAITH....CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION....WAR WITH FRANCE....INVASION OF FRANCE....WAR WITH SCOTLAND....A PARLIAMENT....INVASION OF FRANCE....ITALIAN WARS....THE KING OF FRANCE INVADES ITALY....BATTLE OF PAVIA AND CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS....HENRY EMBRACES THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCE....DISCONTENTS OF THE ENGLISH....FRANCIS REMOVED TO MADRID....FRANCIS RECOVERS HIS LIBERTY....SACK OF ROME....LEAGUE WITH FRANCE.

DURING ſome years many parts of Europe had been agitated with thoſe religious controverſies which produced the reformation, one of the greateſt events in hiſtory: but, as it was not till this time that the king of England publicly took part in the quarrel, we had no occaſion to give any account of its riſe and progreſs. It will now be neceſſary to explain theſe theological diſputes; or, what is more material, to trace from their origin thoſe abuſes which ſo generally diffuſed the opinion that a reformation of the church, or eccleſiaſtical order, was become highly expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary. We ſhall be better

enabled to comprehend the ſubject if we take the matter a little higher, and reflect a moment on the reaſons why there muſt be an eccleſiaſtical order and a public eſtabliſhment of religion in every civilized community. The importance of the preſent occaſion will, I hope, excuſe this ſhort digreſſion.

DIGRESSION CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL STATE.

Most of the arts and profeſſions in a ſtate are of ſuch a nature that, while they promote the intereſts of the ſociety, they are alſo uſeful or agreeable to ſome individuals; and, in that caſe, the conſtant rule of the magiſtrate, except perhaps on the firſt introduction of any art, is, to leave the profeſſion to itſelf, and truſt its encouragement to thoſe who reap the benefit of it. The artiſans, finding their profits to riſe by the favour of their cuſtomers, increaſe, as much as poſſible, their ſkill and induſtry; and, as matters are not diſturbed by any injudicious tampering, the commodity is always ſure to be at all times nearly proportioned to the demand.

But there are alſo ſome callings which, though uſeful and even neceſſary in a ſtate, bring no particular advantage or pleaſure to any individual; and the ſupreme power is obliged to alter its conduct with regard to the retainers of thoſe profeſſions. It muſt give them public encouragement in order to their ſubſiſtence; and it muſt provide againſt that negligence to which they will naturally be ſubject, either by annexing peculiar honours to the profeſſion, by eſtabliſhing a long ſubordination of ranks and a ſtrict dependance, or by ſome other expedient. The perſons employed in the finances, armies, fleets, and magiſtracy, are inſtances of this order of men.

It may naturally be thought, at firſt ſight, that the eccleſiaſtics belong to the firſt claſs, and that their encouragement, as well

as that of lawyers and phyſicians, may ſafely be intruſted to the liberality of individuals who are attached to their doctrines, and who find benefit or conſolation from their ſpiritual miniſtry and aſſiſtance. Their induſtry and vigilance will, no doubt, be whetted by ſuch an additional motive; and their ſkill in the profeſſion, as well as their addreſs in governing the minds of the people, muſt receive daily increaſe from their increaſing practice, ſtudy, and attention.

But, if we conſider the matter more cloſely, we ſhall find that this intereſted diligence of the clergy is what every wiſe legiſlator will ſtudy to prevent; becauſe in every religion, except the true, it is highly pernicious, and it has even a natural tendency to pervert the true, by infuſing into it a ſtrong mixture of ſuperſtition, folly, and deluſion. Each ghoſtly practitioner, in order to render himſelf more precious and ſacred in the eyes of his retainers, will inſpire them with the moſt violent abhorrence of all other ſects, and continually endeavour, by ſome novelty, to excite the languid devotion of his audience. No regard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency, in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be adopted that beſt ſuits the diſorderly affections of the human frame. Cuſtomers will be drawn to each conventicle by new induſtry and addreſs in practiſing on the paſſions and credulity of the populace. And, in the end, the civil magiſtrate will find that he has dearly paid for his pretended frugality in ſaving a fixed eſtabliſhment for the prieſts; and that in reality the moſt decent and advantageous compoſition, which he can make with the ſpiritual guides, is to bribe their indolence, by aſſigning ſtated ſalaries to their profeſſion, and rendering it ſuperfluous for them to be farther active than merely to prevent their flock from ſtraying in queſt of new paſtures. And in this manner eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, though commonly they aroſe at firſt from religious views,

prove in the end advantageous to the political intereſts of ſociety.

But we may obſerve that few eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments have been fixed upon a worſe foundation than that of the church of Rome, or have been attended with circumſtances more hurtful to the peace and happineſs of mankind.

The large revenues, privileges, immunities, and powers, of the clergy rendered them formidable to the civil magiſtrate, and armed with too extenſive authority an order of men who always adhere cloſely together, and who never want a plauſible pretence for their encroachments and uſurpations. The higher dignities of the church ſerved, indeed, to the ſupport of gentry and nobility; but, by the eſtabliſhment of monaſteries, many of the loweſt vulgar were taken from the uſeful arts, and maintained in thoſe receptacles of ſloth and ignorance. The ſupreme head of the church was a foreign potentate, guided by intereſts always different from thoſe of the community, ſometimes contrary to them. And, as the hierarchy was neceſſarily ſolicitous to preſerve an unity of faith, rites, and ceremonies, all liberty of thought ran a manifeſt riſque of being extinguiſhed; and violent perſecutions, or, what was worſe, a ſtupid and abject credulity, took place every where.

To increaſe theſe evils, the church, though ſhe poſſeſſed large revenues, was not contented with her acquiſitions, but retained a power of practiſing farther on the ignorance of mankind. She even beſtowed on each individual prieſt a power of enriching himſelf by the voluntary oblations of the faithful, and left him ſtill an urgent motive for diligence and induſtry in his calling. And thus that church, though an expenſive and burdenſome eſtabliſhment, was liable to many of the inconveniences which belong to an order of prieſts truſting entirely to their own art and invention for attaining a ſubſiſtence.

The advantages attending the Romiſh hierarchy were but a ſmall compenſation for its inconveniences. The eccleſiaſtical privileges, during barbarous times, had ſerved as a cheque on the deſpotiſm of kings. The union of all the weſtern churches under the ſupreme pontiff facilitated the intercourſe of nations, and tended to bind all the parts of Europe into a cloſe connexion with each other. And the pomp and ſplendour of worſhip, which belonged to ſo opulent an eſtabliſhment, contributed in ſome reſpect to the encouragement of the fine arts, and began to diffuſe a general elegance of taſte, by uniting it with religion.

It will eaſily be conceived that, though the balance of evil prevailed in the Romiſh church, this was not the chief reaſon which produced the reformation. A concurrence of incidents muſt have contributed to forward that great revolution.

ORIGIN OF THE REFORMATION.

Leo X, by his generous and enterpriſing temper, had much exhauſted his treaſury, and was obliged to employ every invention which might yield money, in order to ſupport his projects, pleaſures, and liberalities. The ſcheme of ſelling indulgences was ſuggeſted to him as an expedient which had often ſerved, in former times, to draw money from the Chriſtian world, and make devout people willing contributors to the grandeur and riches of the court of Rome. The church, it was ſuppoſed, was poſſeſſed of a great ſtock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the ſaints beyond what were employed in their own juſtification; and even to the merits of Chriſt himſelf, which were infinite and unbounded: and from this unexhauſted treaſury the pope might retail particular portions, and by that traffic acquire money, to be employed in pious purpoſes, in re-

ſifting the infidels or ſubduing ſchiſmatics. When the money came into his exchequer, the greater part of it was uſually diverted to other purpoſes.[e]

It is commonly believed that Leo, from the penetration of his genius and his familiarity with ancient literature, was fully acquainted with the ridicule and falſity of the doctrines which, as ſupreme pontiff, he was obliged by his intereſt to promote: it is the leſs wonder, therefore, that he employed for his profit thoſe pious frauds which his predeceſſors, the moſt ignorant and credulous, had always, under plauſible pretences, made uſe of for their ſelfiſh purpoſes. He publiſhed the ſale of a general indulgence;[f] and, as his expenſes had not only exhauſted his uſual revenue, but even anticipated the money expected from this extraordinary expedient, the ſeveral branches of it were openly given away to particular perſons, who were entitled to levy the impoſition. The produce, particularly of Saxony and the countries bordering on the Baltic, was aſſigned to his ſiſter Magdalene, married to Cibo, natural ſon of Innocent VIII; and ſhe, in order to enhance her profit, had farmed out the revenue to one Arcemboldi, a Genoeſe, once a merchant, now a biſhop, who ſtill retained all the lucrative arts[g] of his former profeſſion. The Auſtin friars had uſually been employed in Saxony to preach the indulgences, and from this truſt had derived both profit and conſideration: but Arcemboldi, fearing leſt practice might have taught them means to ſecrete the money,[h] and expecting no extraordinary ſucceſs from the ordinary methods of collection, gave this occupation to the Dominicans. Theſe monks, in order to prove themſelves worthy of the diſtinction conferred on them, exaggerated the benefits of indulgences by the moſt unbounded panegyrics; and advanced doctrines on that head which, though not more ridiculous than thoſe already received, were not as yet entirely familiar to the ears of the people.[i] To add to the

ſcandal, the collectors of this revenue are ſaid to have lived very licentious lives, and to have ſpent in taverns, gaming houſes, and places ſtill more infamous, the money which devout perſons had ſaved from their uſual expenſes in order to purchaſe a remiſſion of their ſins.[k]

MARTIN LUTHER.

All theſe circumſtances might have given offence, but would have been attended with no event of any importance, had there not ariſen a man qualified to take advantage of the incident. Martin Luther, an Auſtin friar, profeſſor in the univerſity of Wittemberg, reſenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach againſt theſe abuſes in the ſale of indulgences; and, being naturally of a fiery temper, and provoked by oppoſition, he proceeded even to decry indulgences themſelves; and was thence carried, by the heat of diſpute, to queſtion the authority of the pope, from which his adverſaries derived their chief arguments againſt him.[l] Still, as he enlarged his reading, in order to ſupport theſe tenets, he diſcovered ſome new abuſe or error in the church of Rome; and, finding his opinions greedily hearkened to, he promulgated them by writing, diſcourſe, ſermon, conference; and daily increaſed the number of his diſciples. All Saxony, all Germany, all Europe, were in a very little time filled with the voice of this daring innovator; and men, rouſed from that lethargy in which they had ſo long ſlept, began to call in queſtion the moſt ancient and moſt received opinions. The elector of Saxony, favourable to Luther's doctrine, protected him from the violence of the papal juriſdiction; the republic of Zuric even reformed their church according to the new model; many ſovereigns of the empire, and the Imperial diet itſelf, ſhewed a favourable diſpoſition towards it; and Luther, a man naturally

inflexible, vehement, opinionative, was become incapable, either from promiſes of advancement or terrors of ſeverity, to relinquiſh a ſect of which he was himſelf the founder, and which brought him a glory ſuperior to all others, the glory of dictating the religious faith and principles of multitudes.

HENRY STYLED DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

The rumour of theſe innovations ſoon reached England; and, as there ſtill ſubſiſted in that kingdom great remains of the Lollards, whoſe principles reſembled thoſe of Luther, the new doctrines ſecretly gained many partiſans among the laity of all ranks and denominations. But Henry had been educated in a ſtrict attachment to the church of Rome, and he bore a particular prejudice againſt Luther, who in his writings ſpoke with contempt of Thomas Aquinas, the king's favourite author: he oppoſed himſelf, therefore, to the progreſs of the Lutheran tenets by all the influence which his extenſive and almoſt abſolute authority conferred upon him: he even undertook to combat them with weapons not uſually employed by monarchs, eſpecially thoſe in the flower of their age and force of their paſſions. He wrote a book in Latin againſt the principles of Luther; a performance which, if allowance be made for the ſubject and the age, does no diſcredit to his capacity. He ſent a copy of it to Leo, who received ſo magnificent a preſent with great teſtimony of regard, and conferred on him the title of 'defender of the faith;' an appellation ſtill retained by the kings of England. Luther, who was in the heat of controverſy, ſoon publiſhed an anſwer to Henry; and, without regard to the dignity of his antagoniſt, treated him with all the acrimony of ſtyle to which, in the courſe of his polemics, he had ſo long been accuſtomed. The king by this ill uſage was ſtill more prejudiced againſt the

new doctrines; but the public, who naturally favour the weaker party, were inclined to attribute to Luther the victory in the diſpute.[m] And, as the controverſy became more illuſtrious by Henry's entering the liſts, it drew ſtill more the attention of mankind, and the Lutheran doctrine daily acquired new converts in every part of Europe.

CAUSES OF THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The quick and ſurpriſing progreſs of this bold ſect may juſtly, in part, be aſcribed to the late invention of printing, and revival of learning: not that reaſon bore any conſiderable ſhare in opening men's eyes with regard to the impoſtures of the Romiſh church; for, of all branches of literature, philoſophy had, as yet, and till long afterwards, made the moſt inconſiderable progreſs; neither is there any inſtance that argument has ever been able to free the people from that enormous load of abſurdity with which ſuperſtition has every where overwhelmed them: not to mention that the rapid advance of the Lutheran doctrine, and the violence with which it was embraced, prove ſufficiently that it owed not its ſucceſs to reaſon and reflection. The art of printing and the revival of learning forwarded its progreſs in another manner. By means of that art the books of Luther and his ſectaries, full of vehemence, declamation, and a rude eloquence, were propagated more quickly, and in greater numbers. The minds of men, ſomewhat awakened from a profound ſleep of ſo many centuries, were prepared for every novelty, and ſcrupled leſs to tread in any unuſual path which was opened to them. And, as copies of the ſcriptures and other ancient monuments of the Chriſtian faith became more common, men perceived the innovations which were introduced after the firſt centuries; and, though argument and reaſoning could not give

conviction, an hiſtorical fact, well ſupported, was able to make impreſſion on their underſtandings. Many of the powers, indeed, aſſumed by the church of Rome, were very ancient, and were prior to almoſt every political government eſtabliſhed in Europe: but, as the eccleſiaſtics would not agree to poſſeſs their privileges as matters of civil right, which time might render valid, but appealed ſtill to a divine origin, men were tempted to look into their primitive charter; and they could, without much difficulty, perceive its defect in truth and authenticity.

In order to beſtow on this topic the greater influence, Luther and his followers, not ſatisfied with oppoſing the pretended divinity of the Romiſh church, and diſplaying the temporal inconveniences of that eſtabliſhment, carried matters much farther, and treated the religion of their anceſtors as abominable, deteſtable, damnable; foretold by ſacred writ itſelf as the ſource of all wickedneſs and pollution. They denominated the pope antichriſt, called his communion the ſcarlet whore, and gave to Rome the appellation of Babylon; expreſſions which, however applied, were to be found in ſcripture, and which were better calculated to operate on the multitude than the moſt ſolid arguments. Excited by conteſt and perſecution on the one hand, by ſucceſs and applauſe on the other, many of the reformers carried to the greateſt extremity their oppoſition to the church of Rome; and, in contradiction to the multiplied ſuperſtitions with which that communion was loaded, they adopted an enthuſiaſtic ſtrain of devotion, which admitted of no obſervances, rites, or ceremonies; but placed all merit in a myſterious ſpecies of faith, in inward viſion, rapture, and ecſtaſy. The new ſectaries, ſeized with this ſpirit, were indefatigable in the propagation of their doctrine, and ſet at defiance all the anathemas and puniſhments with which the Roman pontiff endeavoured to overwhelm them.

That the civil power, however, might afford them protection againſt the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, the Lutherans advanced doctrines favourable in ſome reſpect to the temporal authority of ſovereigns. They inveighed againſt the abuſes of the court of Rome, with which men were at that time generally diſcontented; and they exhorted princes to reinſtate themſelves in thoſe powers of which the encroaching ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially of the ſovereign pontiff, had ſo long bereaved them. They condemned celibacy and monaſtic vows, and thereby opened the doors of the convents to thoſe who were either tired of the obedience and chaſtity, or diſguſted with the licenſe, in which they had hitherto lived. They blamed the exceſſive riches, the idleneſs, the libertiniſm, of the clergy; and pointed out their treaſures and revenues as lawful ſpoil to the firſt invader. And, as the eccleſiaſtics had hitherto conducted a willing and a ſtupid audience, and were totally unacquainted with controverſy, much more with every ſpecies of true literature, they were unable to defend themſelves againſt men armed with authorities, quotations, and popular topics, and qualified to triumph in every altercation or debate. Such were the advantages with which the reformers began their attack on the Romiſh hierarchy, and ſuch were the cauſes of their rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs.

Leo X, whoſe overſights and too ſupine truſt in the profound ignorance of the people had given riſe to this ſect, but whoſe ſound judgment, moderation, and temper, were well qualified to retard its progreſs, died in the flower of his age, a little after he received the king's book againſt Luther; and he was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Adrian, a Fleming, who had been tutor to the emperor Charles. This man was fitted to gain on the reformers by the integrity, candour, and ſimplicity, of manners which diſtinguiſhed his character; but, ſo violent

were their prejudices againſt the church, he rather hurt the cauſe by his imprudent exerciſe of thoſe virtues. He frankly confeſſed that many abominable and deteſtable practices prevailed in the court of Rome; and by this ſincere avowal he gave occaſion of much triumph to the Lutherans. This pontiff alſo, whoſe penetration was not equal to his good intentions, was ſeduced to concur in that league which Charles and Henry had formed againſt France;[n] and he thereby augmented the ſcandal occaſioned by the practice of ſo many preceding popes, who ſtill made their ſpiritual arms ſubſervient to political purpoſes.

The emperor, who knew that Wolſey had received a diſappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the reſentment of that haughty miniſter, was ſolicitous to repair the breach made in their friendſhip by this incident. He paid another viſit to England; and, beſides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolſey all the promiſes which he had made him of ſeconding his pretenſions to the papal throne. Wolſey, ſenſible that Adrian's great age and infirmities promiſed a ſpeedy vacancy, diſſembled his reſentment, and was willing to hope for a more proſperous iſſue to the next election. The emperor renewed the treaty made at Bruges, to which ſome articles were added; and he agreed to indemnify both the king and Wolſey for the revenue which they ſhould loſe by a breach with France. The more to ingratiate himſelf with Henry and the Engliſh nation, he gave to Surrey, admiral of England, a commiſſion for being admiral of his dominions; and he himſelf was inſtalled knight of the garter at London. After a ſtay of ſix weeks in England, he embarked at Southampton, and in ten days arrived in Spain, where he ſoon pacified the tumults which had ariſen in his abſence.[o]

WAR WITH FRANCE. 1522

THE king declared war againſt France; and this meaſure was founded on ſo little reaſon, that he could allege nothing as a ground of quarrel but Francis's refuſal to ſubmit to his arbitration, and his ſending Albany into Scotland. This laſt ſtep had not been taken by the French king till he was quite aſſured of Henry's reſolution to attack him. Surrey landed ſome troops at Cherbourg in Normandy; and, after laying waſte the country, he ſailed to Morlaix, a rich town in Brittany, which he took and plundered. The Engliſh merchants had great property in that place, which was no more ſpared by the ſoldiers than the goods of the French. Surrey then left the charge of the fleet to the vice admiral, and ſailed to Calais, where he took the command of the Engliſh army deſtined for the invaſion of France. This army, when joined by forces from the Low Countries, under the command of the count de Buren, amounted in the whole to eighteen thouſand men.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

THE French had made it a maxim, in almoſt all their wars with the Engliſh ſince the reign of Charles V, never without great neceſſity to hazard a general engagement; and the duke of Vendome, who commanded the French army, now embraced this wiſe policy. He ſupplied the towns moſt expoſed, eſpecially Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, Hedin, with ſtrong garriſons and plenty of proviſions; he himſelf took poſt at Abbeville, with ſome Swiſs and French infantry, and a body of cavalry; the count of Guiſe encamped under Montreuil with ſix thouſand men. Theſe two bodies were in a ſituation to join upon oc-

caſion, to throw ſupply into any town that was threatened, and to haraſs the Engliſh in every movement. Surrey, who was not provided with magazines, firſt divided his troops for the convenience of ſubſiſting them; but, finding that his quarters were every moment beaten up by the activity of the French generals, he drew together his forces, and laid ſiege to Hedin. But neither did he ſucceed in this enterpriſe. The garriſon made vigorous ſallies upon his army; the French forces aſſaulted him from without; great rains fell; fatigue and bad weather threw the ſoldiers into dyſenteries; and Surrey was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters, about the end of October. His rear guard was attacked at Pas in Artois, and five or ſix hundred men were cut off; nor could all his efforts make him maſter of one place within the French frontier.

The allies were more ſucceſsful in Italy. Lautrec, who commanded the French, loſt a great battle at Bicocca near Milan, and was obliged to retire with the remains of his army. This misfortune, which proceeded from Francis's negligence in not ſupplying Lautrec with money,[P] was followed by the loſs of Genoa. The caſtle of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs in Italy which remained in the hands of the French.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND.

EUROPE was now in ſuch a ſituation, and ſo connected by different alliances and intereſts, that it was almoſt impoſſible for war to be kindled in one part and not diffuſe itſelf throughout the whole: but, of all the leagues among kingdoms, the cloſeſt was that which had ſo long ſubſiſted between France and Scotland; and the Engliſh, while at war with the former nation, could not hope to remain long unmoleſted on the northern frontier. No ſooner had Albany arrived in Scotland than he

took meaſures for kindling a war with England; and he ſummoned the whole force of the kingdom to meet in the fields of Roſline.[q] He thence conducted the army ſouthwards into Annandale, and prepared to paſs the borders at Solway Frith. But many of the nobility were diſguſted with the regent's adminiſtration; and, obſerving that his connexions with Scotland were feeble in compariſon of thoſe which he maintained with France, they murmured that, for the ſake of foreign intereſts, their peace ſhould ſo often be diſturbed, and war, during their king's minority, be wantonly entered into with a neighbouring nation ſo much ſuperior in force and riches. The Gordons, in particular, refuſed to advance any farther; and Albany, obſerving a general diſcontent to prevail, was obliged to conclude a truce with lord Dacres, warden of the Engliſh weſt marches. Soon after he departed for France; and, leſt the oppoſite faction ſhould gather force in his abſence, he ſent thither before him the earl of Angus, huſband to the queen dowager.

Next year Henry, that he might take advantage of the regent's abſence, marched an army into Scotland under the command of Surrey, who ravaged the Merſe and Teviotdale without oppoſition, and burned the town of Jedburgh. The Scots had neither king nor regent to conduct them; the two Humes had been put to death; Angus was in a manner baniſhed; no nobleman of vigour or authority remained who was qualified to aſſume the government; and the Engliſh monarch, who knew the diſtreſſed ſituation of the country, determined to puſh them to extremity, in hopes of engaging them, by the ſenſe of their preſent weakneſs, to make a ſolemn renunciation of the French alliance, and to embrace that of England.[r] He even gave them hopes of contracting a marriage between the lady Mary, heireſs of England, and their young monarch; an expedient which would for ever unite the two kingdoms:[s] and the queen dow-

ager, with her whole party, recommended every where the advantages of this alliance, and of a confederacy with Henry. They ſaid that the intereſt of Scotland had too long been ſacrificed to thoſe of the French nation, who, whenever they found themſelves reduced to difficulties, called for the aſſiſtance of their allies, but were ready to abandon them as ſoon as they found their advantage in making peace with England: that, where a ſmall ſtate entered into ſo cloſe a confederacy with a greater, it muſt always expect this treatment as a conſequence of the unequal alliance; but there were peculiar circumſtances in the ſituation of the kingdoms which in the preſent caſe rendered it inevitable: that France was ſo diſtant and ſo divided from them by ſea, that ſhe ſcarcely could by any means, and never could in time, ſend ſuccours to the Scots ſufficient to protect them againſt ravages from the neighbouring kingdom: that nature had in a manner formed an alliance between the two Britiſh nations; having encloſed them in the ſame iſland; given them the ſame manners, language, laws, and form of government; and prepared every thing for an intimate union between them: and that, if national antipathies were aboliſhed, which would ſoon be the effect of peace, theſe two kingdoms, ſecured by the ocean and by their domeſtic force, could ſet at defiance all foreign enemies, and remain for ever ſafe and unmoleſted.

The partiſans of the French alliance, on the other hand, ſaid that the very reaſons which were urged in favour of a league with England, the vicinity of the kingdom and its ſuperior force, were the real cauſes why a ſincere and durable confederacy could never be formed with that hoſtile nation: that among neighbouring ſtates occaſions of quarrel were frequent; and the more powerful would be ſure to ſeize every frivolous pretence for oppreſſing the weaker, and reducing it to ſubjection: that,

as the near neighbourhood of France and England had kindled a war almoſt perpetual between them, it was the intereſt of the Scots, if they wiſhed to maintain their independence, to preſerve their league with the former kingdom, which balanced the force of the latter: that, if they deſerted that old and ſalutary alliance on which their importance in Europe chiefly depended, their ancient enemies, ſtimulated both by intereſt and by paſſion, would ſoon invade them with ſuperior force, and bereave them of all their liberties: or, if they delayed the attack, the inſidious peace, by making the Scots forget the uſe of arms, would only prepare the way for a ſlavery more certain and more irretrievable.[r]

The arguments employed by the French party, being ſeconded by the natural prejudices of the people, ſeemed moſt prevalent; and, when the regent himſelf, who had been long detained beyond his appointed time by the danger from the Engliſh fleet, at laſt appeared among them, he was able to throw the balance entirely on that ſide. By authority of the convention of ſtates he aſſembled an army, with a view of avenging the ravages committed by the Engliſh in the beginning of the campaign; and he led them ſouthwards towards the borders: but, when they were paſſing the Tweed at the bridge of Melroſs, the Engliſh party raiſed again ſuch oppoſition, that Albany thought proper to make a retreat. He marched downwards along the banks of the Tweed, keeping that river on his right; and fixed his camp oppoſite to Werk caſtle, which Surrey had lately repaired. He ſent over ſome troops to beſiege this fortreſs, who made a breach in it, and ſtormed ſome of the outworks. But the regent, hearing of the approach of an Engliſh army, and diſcouraged by the advanced ſeaſon, thought proper to diſband his forces, and retire to Edinburgh. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The

Scottiſh nation, agitated by their domeſtic factions, were not during ſeveral years, in a condition to give any more diſturbance to England; and Henry had full leiſure to proſecute his deſign on the continent.

The reaſon why the war againſt France proceeded ſo ſlowly on the part of England, was the want of money. All the treaſures of Henry VII were long ago diſſipated; the king's habit of expenſe ſtill remained; and his revenues were unequal even to the ordinary charge of government, much more to his military enterpriſes. He had laſt year cauſed a general ſurvey to be made of the kingdom; the numbers of men; their years, profeſſion, ſtock, revenue;" and expreſſed great ſatisfaction on finding the nation ſo opulent. He then iſſued privy ſeals to the moſt wealthy, demanding loans of particular ſums. This act of power, though ſomewhat irregular and tyrannical, had been formerly practiſed by kings of England; and the people were now familiarized to it. But Henry this year carried his authority much farther. He publiſhed an edict for a general tax upon his ſubjects, which he ſtill called a loan; and he levied five ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, two ſhillings upon the laity. This pretended loan, as being more regular, was really more dangerous to the liberties of the people; and was a precedent for the king's impoſing taxes without conſent of parliament.

A PARLIAMENT. 1523.

HENRY, on the fifteenth of April, ſummoned a parliament, together with a convocation; and found neither of them in a diſpoſition to complain of the infringement of their privileges. It was only doubted how far they would carry their liberality to the king. Wolſey, who had undertaken the management of the affair, began with the convocation, in hopes that their ex-

ample would influence the parliament to grant a large ſupply. He demanded a moiety of the eccleſiaſtical revenues to be levied in five years, or two ſhillings in the pound during that time; and, though he met with oppoſition, he reprimanded the refractory members in ſuch ſevere terms, that his requeſt was at laſt complied with. The cardinal afterwards, attended by ſeveral of the nobility and prelates, came to the houſe of commons; and, in a long and elaborate ſpeech, laid before them the public neceſſities, the danger of an invaſion from Scotland, the affronts received from France, the league in which the king was engaged with the pope and the emperor; and he demanded a grant of eight hundred thouſand pounds, divided into four yearly payments; a ſum computed, from the late ſurvey or valuation, to be equal to four ſhillings in the pound of one year's revenue, or one ſhilling in the pound yearly, according to the diviſion propoſed.[x] So large a grant was unuſual from the commons; and, though the cardinal's demand was ſeconded by ſir Thomas More the ſpeaker, and ſeveral other members attached to the court, the houſe could not be prevailed with to comply.[y] They only voted two ſhillings in the pound on all who enjoyed twenty pounds a year and upwards; one ſhilling on all who poſſeſſed between twenty pounds and forty ſhillings a year; and on the other ſubjects, above ſixteen years of age, a groat a head. This laſt ſum was divided into two yearly payments; the former into four; and was not, therefore, at the utmoſt above ſixpence in the pound. The grant of the commons was but the moiety of the ſum demanded; and the cardinal therefore, much mortified with the diſappointment, came again to the houſe, and deſired to reaſon with ſuch as refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt. He was told that it was a rule of the houſe never to reaſon but among themſelves; and his deſire was rejected. The commons, however, enlarged a little their former grant, and

voted an impoſition of three ſhillings in the pound on all poſſeſſed of fifty pounds a year and upwards.[z] The proceedings of this houſe of commons evidently diſcover the humour of the times: they were extremely tenacious of their money, and refuſed a demand of the crown, which was far from being unreaſonable; but they allowed an encroachment on national privileges to paſs uncenſured, though its direct tendency was to ſubvert entirely the liberties of the people. The king was ſo diſſatisfied with this ſaving diſpoſition of the commons, that, as he had not called a parliament during ſeven years before, he allowed ſeven more to elapſe before he ſummoned another; and, on pretence of neceſſity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth forty pounds, what the parliament had granted him payable in four years;[a] a new invaſion of national privileges. Theſe irregularities were commonly aſcribed to the cardinal's counſels, who, truſting to the protection afforded him by his eccleſiaſtical character, was the leſs ſcrupulous in his encroachments on the civil rights of the nation.

That ambitious prelate received this year a new diſappointment in his aſpiring views. The pope, Adrian VI, died; and Clement VII, of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place by the concurrence of the Imperial party. Wolſey could now perceive the inſincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never ſecond his pretenſions to the papal chair. As he highly reſented this injury, he began thenceforth to eſtrange himſelf from the Imperial court, and to pave the way for an union between his maſter and the French king. Meanwhile he concealed his diſguſt; and, after congratulating the new pope on his promotion, applied for a continuation of the legantine powers which the two former popes had conferred upon him. Clement, knowing the importance of gaining his friendſhip, granted him a commiſſion for life; and, by this un-

uſual conceſſion, he in a manner transferred to him the whole papal authority in England. In ſome particulars Wolſey made a good uſe of this extenſive power. He erected two colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipſwich, the place of his nativity; he ſought, all over Europe, for learned men to ſupply the chairs of theſe colleges; and, in order to beſtow endowments on them, he ſuppreſſed ſome ſmaller monaſteries, and diſtributed the monks into other convents. The execution of this project became the leſs difficult for him becauſe the Romiſh church began to perceive that ſhe overabounded in monks, and that ſhe wanted ſome ſupply of learning, in order to oppoſe the inquiſitive, or rather diſputative, humour of the reformers.

The confederacy againſt France ſeemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign.[b] Adrian, before his death, had renewed the league with Charles and Henry. The Venetians had been induced to deſert the French alliance, and to form engagements for ſecuring Francis Sforza, brother to Maximilian, in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, and all the powers of Italy, combined in the ſame meaſure. The emperor, in perſon, menaced France with a powerful invaſion on the ſide of Guienne; the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy; a numerous body of Germans were preparing to ravage Burgundy. But all theſe perils from foreign enemies were leſs threatening than a domeſtic conſpiracy, which had been formed, and which was now come to full maturity, againſt the French monarch.

Charles duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France, was a prince of the moſt ſhining merit; and, beſides diſtinguiſhing himſelf in many military enterpriſes, he was adorned with every accompliſhment which became a perſon of his high ſtation. His virtues, embelliſhed with the graces of youth, had made ſuch impreſſion on Louiſe of Savoy, Francis's mother, that, without

regard to the inequality of their years, ſhe made him propoſals of marriage; and, meeting with a repulſe, ſhe formed ſchemes of unrelenting vengeance againſt him. She was a woman falſe, deceitful, vindictive, malicious; but, unhappily for France, had, by her capacity, which was conſiderable, acquired an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon. By her inſtigation Francis put many affronts on the conſtable, which it was difficult for a gallant ſpirit to endure; and at laſt he permitted Louiſe to proſecute a law-ſuit againſt him, by which, on the moſt frivolous pretences, he was deprived of his ample poſſeſſions; and inevitable ruin was brought upon him.

Bourbon, provoked at all theſe indignities, and thinking that, if any injuries could juſtify a man in rebelling againſt his prince and country, he muſt ſtand acquitted, had entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the emperor [c] and the king of England. Francis, pertinacious in his purpoſe of recovering the Milaneſe, had intended to lead his army in perſon into Italy; and Bourbon, who feigned ſickneſs in order to have a pretence for ſtaying behind, purpoſed, as ſoon as the king ſhould have paſſed the Alps, to raiſe an inſurrection among his numerous vaſſals, by whom he was extremely beloved, and to introduce foreign enemies into the heart of the kingdom. Francis got intimation of his deſign; but, as he was not expeditious enough in ſecuring ſo dangerous a foe, the conſtable made his eſcape;[d] and, entering into the emperor's ſervice, employed all the force of his enterpriſing ſpirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country.

INVASION OF FRANCE.

The king of England, deſirous that Francis ſhould undertake his Italian expedition, did not openly threaten Picardy this year

with an invaſion; and it was late before the duke of Suffolk, who commanded the Engliſh forces, paſſed over to Calais. He was attended by the lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrars, Morney, Sandys, Berkeley, Powis, and many other noblemen and gentlemen.[e] The Engliſh army, reinforced by ſome troops drawn from the garriſon of Calais, amounted to about twelve thouſand men; and, having joined an equal number of Flemings under the count de Buren, they prepared for an invaſion of France. The ſiege of Boulogne was firſt propoſed; but, that enterpriſe appearing difficult, it was thought more adviſable to leave this town behind them. The frontier of Picardy was very ill provided with troops; the only defence of that province was the activity of the French officers, who infeſted the allied army in their march, and threw garriſons, with great expedition, into every town which was threatened by them. After coaſting the Somme, and paſſing Hedin, Montreuil, Dourlens, the Engliſh and Flemings preſented themſelves before Bray, a place of ſmall force, which commanded a bridge over that river. Here they were reſolved to paſs, and, if poſſible, to take up winter quarters in France; but Crequi threw himſelf into the town, and ſeemed reſolute to defend it. The allies attacked him with vigour and ſucceſs; and, when he retreated over the bridge, they purſued him ſo hotly, that they allowed him not time to break it down, but paſſed it along with him, and totally routed his army. They next advanced to Montdidier, which they beſieged, and took by capitulation. Meeting with no oppoſition, they proceeded to the river Oiſe, within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great conſternation, till the duke of Vendome haſtened with ſome forces to its relief. The confederates, afraid of being ſurrounded, and of being reduced to extremities during ſo advanced a ſeaſon, thought proper to retreat. Montdidier was abandoned; and the Engliſh and Flem-

ings, without effecting any thing, retired into their reſpective countries.

France defended herſelf from the other invaſions with equal facility and equal good fortune. Twelve thouſand Lanſquenets broke into Burgundy under the command of the count of Furſtenberg. The count of Guiſe, who defended that frontier, had nothing to oppoſe to them but ſome militia, and about nine hundred heavy-armed cavalry. He threw the militia into the garriſon towns; and with his cavalry he kept the field, and ſo haraſſed the Germans that they were glad to make their retreat into Lorraine. Guiſe attacked them as they paſſed the Meuſe, put them into diſorder, and cut off the greater part of their rear.

The emperor made great preparations on the ſide of Navarre; and, though that frontier was well guarded by nature, it ſeemed now expoſed to danger from the powerful invaſion which threatened it. Charles beſieged Fontarabia, which a few years before had fallen into Francis's hands; and, when he had drawn thither Lautrec, the French general, he of a ſudden raiſed the ſiege, and ſat down before Bayonne. Lautrec, aware of that ſtratagem, made a ſudden march, and threw himſelf into Bayonne, which he defended with ſuch vigour and courage that the Spaniards were conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege. The emperor would have been totally unfortunate on this ſide had he not turned back upon Fontarabia, and, contrary to the advice of all his generals, ſat down, in the winter ſeaſon, before that city, well fortified and ſtrongly garriſoned. The cowardice or miſconduct of the governor ſaved him from the ſhame of a new diſappointment. The place was ſurrendered in a few days; and the emperor, having finiſhed this enterpriſe, put his troops into winter quarters.

So obſtinate was Francis in proſecuting his Italian expedition, that, notwithſtanding theſe numerous invaſions with which his kingdom was menaced on every ſide, he had determined to lead in perſon a powerful army to the conqueſt of Milan. The intelligence of Bourbon's conſpiracy and eſcape ſtopped him at Lyons; and, fearing ſome inſurrection in the kingdom from the intrigues of a man ſo powerful and ſo much beloved, he thought it prudent to remain in France, and to ſend forward his army under the command of admiral Bonnivet. The duchy of Milan had been purpoſely left in a condition ſomewhat defenceleſs, with a view of alluring Francis to attack it, and thereby facilitating the enterpriſes of Bourbon; and no ſooner had Bonnivet paſſed the Teſin than the army of the league, and even Proſper Colonna, who commanded it, a prudent general, were in the utmoſt confuſion. It is agreed that, if Bonnivet had immediately advanced to Milan, that great city, on which the whole duchy depends, would have opened its gates without reſiſtance; but, as he waſted his time in frivolous enterpriſes, Colonna had opportunity to reinforce the garriſon, and to put the place in a poſture of defence. Bonnivet was now obliged to attempt reducing the city by blockade and famine; and he took poſſeſſion of all the poſts which commanded the paſſages to it. But the army of the league meanwhile was not unactive; and they ſo ſtraitened and haraſſed the quarters of the French, that it ſeemed more likely the latter ſhould themſelves periſh by famine than reduce the city to that extremity. Sickneſs and fatigue and want had waſted them to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to raiſe the blockade; and their only hopes conſiſted in a great body of Swiſs, which was levied for the ſervice of the French

king, and whoſe arrival was every day expected. But theſe mountaineers no ſooner came within ſight of the French camp than they ſtopped, from a ſudden caprice and reſentment; and, inſtead of joining Bonnivet, they ſent orders to a great body of their countrymen, who then ſerved under him, immediately to begin their march, and to return home in their company.[f] After this deſertion of the Swiſs, Bonnivet had no other choice but that of making his retreat as faſt as poſſible into France.

The French being thus expelled Italy, the pope, the Venetians, the Florentines, were ſatisfied with the advantage obtained over them, and were reſolved to proſecute their victory no farther. All theſe powers, eſpecially Clement, had entertained a violent jealouſy of the emperor's ambition; and their ſuſpicions were extremely augmented when they ſaw him refuſe the inveſtiture of Milan, a fief of the empire, to Francis Sforza, whoſe title he had acknowledged, and whoſe defence he had embraced.[g] They all concluded that he intended to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that important duchy, and reduce Italy to ſubjection: Clement, in particular, actuated by this jealouſy, proceeded ſo far in oppoſition to the emperor, that he ſent orders to his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But affairs were not yet fully ripe for this change. Wolſey diſgusted with the emperor, but ſtill more actuated by vain glory, was determined that he himſelf ſhould have the renown of bringing about that great alteration; and he engaged the king to reject the pope's mediation. A new treaty was even concluded between Henry and Charles for the invaſion of France. Charles ſtipulated to ſupply the duke of Bourbon with a powerful army, in order to conquer Provence and Dauphiny: Henry agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand crowns for the firſt month; after which he might either chooſe to continue the ſame monthly payments, or invade Picardy with a powerful army.

Bourbon was to poſſeſs theſe provinces with the title of king, but to hold them in fee of Henry as king of France. The duchy of Burgundy was to be given to Charles, the reſt of the kingdom to Henry.

This chimerical partition immediately failed of execution in the article which was moſt eaſily performed; Bourbon refuſed to acknowledge Henry as king of France. His enterpriſe, however, againſt Provence ſtill took place. A numerous army of Imperialiſts invaded that country, under his command and that of the marquis of Peſcara. They laid ſiege to Marſeilles, which, being weakly garriſoned, they expected to reduce in a little time: but the citizens defended themſelves with ſuch valour and obſtinacy, that Bourbon and Peſcara, who heard of the French king's approach with a numerous army, found themſelves under a neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and diſheartened, into Italy.

Francis might now have enjoyed, in ſafety, the glory of repulſing all his enemies in every attempt which they had hitherto made for invading his kingdom; but, as he received intelligence that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterpriſes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for any attempt on Picardy, his ancient ardour ſeized him for the conqueſt of Milan; and, notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon, he was immediately determined, contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors, to lead his army into Italy.

THE KING OF FRANCE INVADES ITALY. 1524.

He paſſed the Alps at Mount Cenis, and no ſooner appeared in Piedmont than he threw the whole Milaneſe into conſternation. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; and, had Francis been ſo fortunate as to purſue them, they had aban-

doned that place, and had been totally diſperſed:[h] but his ill fate led him to beſiege Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, well garriſoned, and defended by Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every attempt which the French king made to gain this important place proved fruitleſs. He battered the walls, and made breaches; but, by the vigilance of Leyva, new retrenchments were inſtantly thrown up behind the breaches. He attempted to divert the courſe of the Teſin, which ran by one ſide of the city, and defended it; but an inundation of the river deſtroyed, in one night, all the mounds which the ſoldiers, during a long time and with infinite labour, had been erecting. Fatigue, and the bad ſeaſon (for it was the depth of winter), had waſted the French army. The Imperial generals meanwhile were not unactive. Peſcara and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, aſſembled forces from all quarters. Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, went into Germany, and with the money, aided by his perſonal intereſt, levied a body of twelve thouſand Lanſquenets, with which he joined the Imperialiſts. This whole army advanced to raiſe the ſiege of Pavia; and the danger to the French became every day more imminent.

The ſtate of Europe was ſuch, during that age, that, partly from want of commerce and induſtry every where, except in Italy and the Low Countries, partly from the extenſive privileges ſtill poſſeſſed by the people in all the great monarchies, and their frugal maxims in granting money, the revenues of the princes were extremely narrow, and even the ſmall armies which they kept on foot could not be regularly paid by them. The Imperial forces, commanded by Bourbon, Peſcara, and Lannoy, exceeded not twenty thouſand men; they were the only body of troops maintained by the emperor (for he had not been able to levy any army for the invaſion of France, either on the ſide of Spain or Flanders): yet ſo poor was that mighty monarch,

that he could tranſmit no money for the payment of this army; and it was chiefly the hopes of ſharing the plunder of the French camp which had made them advance, and kept them to their ſtandards. Had Francis raiſed the ſiege before their approach, and retired to Milan, they muſt immediately have diſbanded; and he had obtained a complete victory without danger or bloodſhed. But it was the character of this monarch to become obſtinate in proportion to the difficulties which he encountered; and, having once ſaid that he would take Pavia or periſh before it, he was reſolved rather to endure the utmoſt extremities than depart from this reſolution.

BATTLE OF PAVIA, AND CAPTIVITY OF FRANCIS. 1525.

The Imperial generals, after cannonading the French camp for ſeveral days, at laſt made a general aſſault, and broke into the intrenchments. Leyva ſallied from the town, and increaſed the confuſion among the beſiegers. The Swiſs infantry, contrary to their uſual practice, behaved in a daſtardly manner, and deſerted their poſt. Francis's forces were put to rout; and he himſelf, ſurrounded by his enemies, after fighting with heroic valour, and killing ſeven men with his own hand, was at laſt obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner. Almoſt the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either periſhed by the ſword or were drowned in the river. The few who eſcaped with their lives fell into the hands of the enemy.

The emperor received this news by Pennaloſa, who paſſed through France by means of a ſafe conduct granted him by the captive king. The moderation which he diſplayed on this occaſion, had it been ſincere, would have done him honour. Inſtead of rejoicing, he expreſſed ſympathy with Francis's ill fortune, and diſcovered his ſenſe of thoſe calamities to which the

greateſt monarchs are expoſed.[1] He refuſed the city of Madrid permiſſion to make any public expreſſions of triumph; and ſaid that he reſerved all his exultation till he ſhould be able to obtain ſome victory over the infidels. He ſent orders to his frontier garriſons to commit no hoſtilities upon France. He ſpoke of concluding, immediately, a peace on reaſonable terms. But all this ſeeming moderation was only hypocriſy, ſo much the more dangerous as it was profound. And he was wholly occupied in forming ſchemes how, from this great incident, he might draw the utmoſt advantage, and gratify that exorbitant ambition by which, in all his actions, he was ever governed.

The ſame Pennaloſa, in paſſing through France, carried alſo a letter from Francis to his mother, whom he had left regent, and who then reſided at Lyons. It contained only theſe few words, 'Madam, all is loſt, except our honour.' The princeſs was ſtruck with the greatneſs of the calamity. She ſaw the kingdom without a ſovereign, without an army, without generals, without money; ſurrounded on every ſide by implacable and victorious enemies: and her chief reſource, in her preſent diſtreſſes, were the hopes ſhe entertained of peace, and even of aſſiſtance from the king of England.

HENRY EMBRACES THE ALLIANCE OF FRANCE.

Had the king entered into the war againſt France from any concerted political views, it is evident that the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis were the moſt fortunate incidents that could have befallen him, and the only ones that could render his ſchemes effectual. While the war was carried on in the former feeble manner, without any deciſive advantage, he might have been able to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome frontier town, or perhaps of a ſmall territory, of which he could not have kept poſ-

ſeſſion without expending much more than its value. By ſome ſignal calamity alone, which annihilated the power of France, could he hope to acquire the dominion of conſiderable provinces, or diſmember that great monarchy, ſo affectionate to its own government and its own ſovereigns. But, as it is probable that Henry had never before carried his reflections ſo far, he was ſtartled at this important event, and became ſenſible of his own danger, as well as that of all Europe, from the loſs of a proper counterpoiſe to the power of Charles. Inſtead of taking advantage, therefore, of the diſtreſſed condition of Francis, he was determined to lend him aſſiſtance in his preſent calamities; and, as the glory of generoſity in raiſing a fallen enemy concurred with his political intereſt, he heſitated the leſs in embracing theſe new meaſures.

Some diſguſts alſo had previouſly taken place between Charles and Henry, and ſtill more between Charles and Wolſey; and that powerful miniſter waited only for a favourable opportunity of revenging the diſappointments which he had met with. The behaviour of Charles, immediately after the victory of Pavia, gave him occaſion to revive the king's jealouſy and ſuſpicions. The emperor ſo ill ſupported the appearance of moderation, which he at firſt aſſumed, that he had already changed his uſual ſtyle to Henry; and, inſtead of writing to him with his own hand, and ſubſcribing himſelf 'Your affectionate ſon and couſin,' he dictated his letters to a ſecretary,[k] and ſimply ſubſcribed himſelf 'Charles.' Wolſey alſo perceived a diminution in the careſſes and profeſſions with which the emperor's letters to him were formerly loaded; and this laſt imprudence, proceeding from the intoxication of ſucceſs, was probably more dangerous to Charles's intereſts than the other.

Henry, though immediately determined to embrace new meaſures, was careful to ſave appearances in the change; and he

cauſed rejoicings to be every where made on account of the victory of Pavia and the captivity of Francis. He publicly diſmiſſed a French envoy, whom he had formerly allowed, notwithſtanding the war, to reſide at London:[1] but, upon the regent of France's ſubmiſſive applications to him, he again opened a correſpondence with her; and, beſides aſſuring her of his friendſhip and protection, he exacted a promiſe that ſhe never would conſent to the diſmembering of any province from the monarchy for her ſon's ranſom. With the emperor, however, he put on the appearance of vigour and enterpriſe; and, in order to have a pretence for breaking with him, he diſpatched Tonſtal, biſhop of London, to Madrid, with propoſals for a powerful invaſion of France. He required that Charles ſhould immediately enter Guienne at the head of a great army, in order to put him in poſſeſſion of that province; and he demanded the payment of large ſums of money, which that prince had borrowed from him in his laſt viſit at London. He knew that the emperor was in no condition of fulfilling either of theſe demands, and that he had as little inclination to make him maſter of ſuch conſiderable territories upon the frontiers of Spain.

Tonſtal, likewiſe, after his arrival at Madrid, informed his maſter that Charles, on his part, urged ſeveral complaints againſt England; and, in particular, was diſpleaſed with Henry, becauſe laſt year he had neither continued his monthly payments to Bourbon, nor invaded Picardy, according to his ſtipulations. Tonſtal added that, inſtead of expreſſing an intention to eſpouſe Mary when ſhe ſhould be of age, the emperor had hearkened to propoſals for marrying his niece Iſabella, princeſs of Portugal; and that he had entered into a ſeparate treaty with Francis, and ſeemed determined to reap alone all the advantages of the ſucceſs with which fortune had crowned his arms.

The king, influenced by all theſe motives, concluded, at Moore, his alliance with the regent of France, and engaged to procure her ſon his liberty on reaſonable conditions:[m] the regent alſo, in another treaty, acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for one million eight hundred thouſand crowns, to be diſcharged in half-yearly payments of fifty thouſand crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly penſion of a hundred thouſand. A large preſent of a hundred thouſand crowns was alſo made to Wolſey for his good offices, but covered under the pretence of arrears due on the penſion granted him for relinquiſhing the adminiſtration of Tournay.

DISCONTENTS OF THE ENGLISH.

MEANWHILE Henry, foreſeeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was alſo determined to fill his treaſury by impoſitions upon his own ſubjects; and, as the parliament had diſcovered ſome reluctance in complying with his demands, he followed, as is believed, the counſel of Wolſey, and reſolved to make uſe of his prerogative alone for that purpoſe. He iſſued commiſſions to all the counties of England for levying four ſhillings in the pound upon the clergy, three ſhillings and four pence upon the laity; and ſo uncontrollable did he deem his authority, that he took no care to cover, as formerly, this arbitrary exaction, even under the ſlender pretence of a loan. But he ſoon found that he had preſumed too far on the paſſive ſubmiſſion of his ſubjects. The people, diſpleaſed with an exaction beyond what was uſually levied in thoſe days, and farther diſguſted with the illegal method of impoſing it, broke out in murmurs, complaints, oppoſition to the commiſſioners; and their refractory diſpoſition threatened a general inſurrection. Henry had the prudence to

ſtop ſhort in that dangerous path into which he had entered. He ſent letters to all the counties, declaring that he meant no force by this laſt impoſition, and that he would take nothing from his ſubjects but by way of benevolence. He flattered himſelf that his condeſcenſion in employing that diſguiſe would ſatisfy the people, and that no one would dare to render himſelf obnoxious to royal authority, by refuſing any payment required of him in this manner. But the ſpirit of oppoſition, once rouſed, could not ſo eaſily be quieted at pleaſure. A lawyer in the city, objecting the ſtatute of Richard III, by which benevolences were for ever aboliſhed, it was replied by the court that Richard, being an uſurper, and his parliament a factious aſſembly, his ſtatutes could not bind a lawful and abſolute monarch, who held his crown by hereditary right, and needed not to court the favour of a licentious populace.[n] The judges even went ſo far as to affirm poſitively that the king might exact, by commiſſion, any ſum he pleaſed; and the privy council gave a ready aſſent to this decree, which annihilated the moſt valuable privilege of the people, and rendered all their other privileges precarious. Armed with ſuch formidable authority, of royal prerogative and a pretence of law, Wolſey ſent for the mayor of London, and deſired to know what he was willing to give for the ſupply of his majeſty's neceſſities. The mayor ſeemed deſirous, before he ſhould declare himſelf, to conſult the common council: but the cardinal required that he and all the aldermen ſhould ſeparately confer with himſelf about the benevolence; and he eluded by that means the danger of a formed oppoſition. Matters, however, went not ſo ſmoothly in the country. An inſurrection was begun in ſome places; but, as the people were not headed by any conſiderable perſon, it was eaſy for the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, by employing perſuaſion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their

arms and ſurrender themſelves priſoners. The king, finding it dangerous to puniſh criminals engaged in ſo popular a cauſe, was determined, notwithſtanding his violent imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty. The offenders were carried before the ſtar chamber, where, after a ſevere charge brought againſt them by the king's council, the cardinal ſaid that, notwithſtanding their grievous offence, the king, in conſideration of their neceſſities, had granted them his gracious pardon upon condition that they would find ſureties for their future good behaviour: but they replying they had no ſureties, the cardinal firſt, and after him the duke of Norfolk, ſaid that they would be bound for them. Upon which they were diſmiſſed.[o]

Theſe arbitrary impoſitions being imputed, though on what grounds is unknown, to the counſels of the cardinal, increaſed the general odium under which he laboured; and the clemency of the pardon being aſcribed to the king, was conſidered as an atonement on his part for the illegality of the meaſure. But Wolſey, ſupported both by royal and papal authority, proceeded, without ſcruple, to violate all eccleſiaſtical privileges, which, during that age, were much more ſacred than civil; and, having once prevailed in that unuſual attempt of ſuppreſſing ſome monaſteries, he kept all the reſt in awe, and exerciſed over them an arbitrary juriſdiction. By his commiſſion as legate he was empowered to viſit them, and reform them, and chaſtiſe their irregularities; and he employed his uſual agent Allen in the exerciſe of this authority. The religious houſes were obliged to compound for their guilt, real or pretended, by paying large ſums to the cardinal or his deputy; and this oppreſſion was carried ſo far that it reached at laſt the king's ears, which were not commonly open to complaints againſt his favourite. Wolſey

had built a ſplendid palace at Hampton court, which he probably intended, as well as that of York place in Weſtminſter, for his own reſidence; but, fearing the increaſe of envy on account of this magnificence, and deſirous to appeaſe the king, he made him a preſent of the building, and told him that, from the firſt, he had erected it for his uſe.

The abſolute authority poſſeſſed by the king rendered his domeſtic government, both over his people and his miniſters, eaſy and expeditious: the conduct of foreign affairs alone required effort and application; and they were now brought to ſuch a ſituation, that it was no longer ſafe for England to remain entirely neutral. The feigned moderation of the emperor was of ſhort duration; and it was ſoon obvious to all the world that his great dominions, far from gratifying his ambition, were only regarded as the means of acquiring an empire more extenſive. The terms which he demanded of his priſoner were ſuch as muſt for ever have annihilated the power of France, and deſtroyed the balance of Europe. Theſe terms were propoſed to Francis ſoon after the battle of Pavia, while he was detained in Pizzichitone; and, as he had hitherto truſted ſomewhat to the emperor's generoſity, the diſappointment excited in his breaſt the moſt lively indignation. He ſaid that he would rather live and die a priſoner than agree to diſmember his kingdom; and that, even were he ſo baſe as to ſubmit to ſuch conditions, his ſubjects would never permit him to carry them into execution.

FRANCIS REMOVED TO MADRID.

Francis was encouraged to perſiſt in demanding more moderate terms by the favourable accounts which he heard of Henry's diſpoſitions towards him, and of the alarm which had ſeized all the chief powers in Italy upon his defeat and captivity. He was

uneaſy, however, to be ſo far diſtant from the emperor, with whom he muſt treat; and he expreſſed his deſire (which was complied with) to be removed to Madrid, in hopes that a perſonal interview would operate in his favour, and that Charles, if not influenced by his miniſters, might be found poſſeſſed of the ſame frankneſs of diſpoſition by which he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed. He was ſoon convinced of his miſtake. Partly from want of exerciſe, partly from reflections on his preſent melancholy ſituation, he fell into a languiſhing illneſs; which begat apprehenſions in Charles, leſt the death of his captive ſhould bereave him of all thoſe advantages which he purpoſed to extort from him. He then paid him a viſit in the caſtle of Madrid; and, as he approached the bed in which Francis lay, the ſick monarch called to him, 'You come, ſir, to viſit your priſoner.' 'No,' replied the emperor, 'I come to viſit my brother and my friend, who ſhall ſoon obtain his liberty.' He ſoothed his afflictions with many ſpeeches of a like nature, which had ſo good an effect, that the king daily recovered,[P] and thenceforth employed himſelf in concerting with the miniſters of the emperor the terms of his treaty.

At laſt the emperor, dreading a general combination againſt him, was willing to abate ſomewhat of his rigour; and the treaty of Madrid was ſigned, by which it was hoped an end would be finally put to the differences between theſe great monarchs. The principal condition was the reſtoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages to the emperor for the ceſſion of Burgundy. If any difficulty ſhould afterwards occur in the execution of this laſt article, from the oppoſition of the ſtates either of France or of that province, Francis ſtipulated that in ſix weeks time he ſhould return to his priſon, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. There were many other articles in this famous convention, all of them ex-

tremely ſevere upon the captive monarch; and Charles diſcovered evidently his intention of reducing Italy, as well as France, to ſubjection and dependance.

Many of Charles's miniſters foreſaw that Francis, how ſolemn ſoever the oaths, promiſes, and proteſtations, exacted of him, never would execute a treaty ſo diſadvantageous, or rather ruinous and deſtructive, to himſelf, his poſterity, and his country. By putting Burgundy, they thought, into the emperor's hands, he gave his powerful enemy an entrance into the heart of the kingdom: by ſacrificing his allies in Italy he deprived himſelf of foreign aſſiſtance; and, arming his oppreſſor with the whole force and wealth of that opulent country, rendered him abſolutely irreſiſtible. To theſe great views of intereſt were added the motives, no leſs cogent, of paſſion and reſentment; while Francis, a prince who piqued himſelf on generoſity, reflected on the rigour with which he had been treated during his captivity, and the ſevere terms which had been exacted of him for the recovery of his liberty. It was alſo foreſeen that the emulation and rivalſhip, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two monarchs, would make him feel the ſtrongeſt reluctance on yielding the ſuperiority to an antagoniſt, who by the whole tenor of his conduct, he would be apt to think, had ſhewn himſelf ſo little worthy of that advantage which fortune, and fortune alone, had put into his hands. His miniſters, his friends, his ſubjects, his allies, would be ſure with one voice to inculcate on him that the firſt object of a prince was the preſervation of his people; and that the laws of honour, which with a private man ought to be abſolutely ſupreme, and ſuperior to all intereſts, were, with a ſovereign, ſubordinate to the great duty of enſuring the ſafety of his country. Nor could it be imagined that Francis would be ſo romantic in his principles, as not to hearken to a caſuiſtry which was ſo plauſible in itſelf, and which ſo much

flattered all the paſſions by which either as a prince or a man he was ſtrongly actuated.

FRANCIS RECOVERS HIS LIBERTY. 1526.

FRANCIS, on entering his own dominions, delivered his two eldeſt ſons as hoſtages into the hands of the Spaniards. He mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and, immediately putting him to the gallop, he waved his hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, 'I am yet a king.' He ſoon reached Bayonne, where he was joyfully received by the regent and his whole court. He immediately wrote to Henry, acknowledging that to his good offices alone he owed his liberty, and proteſting that he ſhould be entirely governed by his counſels in all tranſactions with the emperor. When the Spaniſh envoy demanded his ratification of the treaty of Madrid, now that he had fully recovered his liberty, he declined the propoſal, under colour that it was previouſly neceſſary to aſſemble the ſtates both of France and of Burgundy, and to obtain their conſent. The ſtates of Burgundy ſoon met; and, declaring againſt the clauſe which contained an engagement for alienating their province, they expreſſed their reſolution of oppoſing, even by force of arms, the execution of ſo ruinous and unjuſt an article. The Imperial miniſter then required that Francis, in conformity to the treaty of Madrid, ſhould now return to his priſon; but the French monarch, inſtead of complying, made public the treaty, which a little before he had ſecretly concluded at Cognac, againſt the ambitious ſchemes and uſurpations of the emperor.[q]

The pope, the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates, who were deeply intereſted in theſe events, had been held in the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe with regard to the reſolutions which Francis ſhould take after the recovery of his liberty; and Clement, in

particular, who ſuſpected that this prince would never execute a treaty ſo hurtful to his intereſts, and even deſtructive of his independency, had very frankly offered him a diſpenſation from all his oaths and engagements. Francis remained not in ſuſpenſe, but entered immediately into the confederacy propoſed to him. It was ſtipulated by that king, the pope, the Venetians, the Swiſs, the Florentines, and the duke of Milan, among other articles, that they would oblige the emperor to deliver up the two young princes of France on receiving a reaſonable ſum of money, and to reſtore Milan to Sforza without farther condition or incumbrance. The king of England was invited to accede, not only as a contracting party, but as protector of the 'holy league,' ſo it was called: and, if Naples ſhould be conquered from the emperor, in proſecution of this confederacy, it was agreed that Henry ſhould enjoy a principality in that kingdom of the yearly revenue of thirty thouſand ducats; and that cardinal Wolſey, in conſideration of the ſervices which he had rendered to Chriſtendom, ſhould alſo, in ſuch an event, be put in poſſeſſion of a revenue of ten thouſand ducats.

SACK OF ROME. 1527.

Francis was deſirous that the appearance of this great confederacy ſhould engage the emperor to relax ſomewhat in the extreme rigour of the treaty of Madrid; and while he entertained theſe hopes he was the more remiſs in his warlike preparations; nor did he ſend in due time reinforcement to his allies in Italy. The duke of Bourbon had got poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, of which the emperor intended to grant him the inveſtiture; and, having levied a conſiderable army in Germany, he became formidable to all the Italian potentates; and not the leſs ſo becauſe Charles, deſtitute as uſual of money, had

not been able to remit any pay to the forces. The general was extremely beloved by his troops; and, in order to prevent thoſe mutinies which were ready to break out every moment, and which their affection alone for him had hitherto reſtrained, he led them to Rome, and promiſed to enrich them by the plunder of that opulent city. He was himſelf killed as he was planting a ſcaling-ladder againſt the walls; but his ſoldiers, rather enraged than diſcouraged by his death, mounted to the aſſault with the utmoſt valour, and, entering the city ſword in hand, exerciſed all thoſe brutalities which may be expected from ferocity excited by reſiſtance, and from inſolence which takes place when that reſiſtance is no more. This renowned city, expoſed by her renown alone to ſo many calamities, never endured in any age, even from the barbarians by whom ſhe was often ſubdued, ſuch indignities as ſhe was now compelled to ſuffer. The unreſtrained maſſacre and pillage, which continued for ſeveral days, were the leaſt ills to which the unhappy Romans were expoſed.[r] Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty, or ſacred in religion, ſeemed but the more to provoke the inſults of the ſoldiery. Virgins ſuffered violation in the arms of their parents, and upon thoſe very altars to which they had fled for protection. Aged prelates, after enduring every indignity, and even every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the moſt cruel death, in order to make them reveal their ſecret treaſures, or purchaſe liberty by exorbitant ranſoms. Clement himſelf, who had truſted for protection to the ſacredneſs of his character, and neglected to make his eſcape in time, was taken captive; and found that his dignity, which procured him no regard from the Spaniſh ſoldiers, did but draw on him the inſolent mockery of the German, who being generally attached to the Lutheran principles, were pleaſed to gratify their animoſity by the abaſement of the ſovereign pontiff.

When intelligence of this great event was conveyed to the emperor, that young prince, habituated to hypocriſy, expreſſed the moſt profound ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms; he put himſelf and all his court in mourning; he ſtopped the rejoicings for the birth of his ſon Philip; and, knowing that every artifice, however groſs, is able, when ſeconded by authority, to impoſe upon the people, he ordered prayers during ſeveral months to be put up in the churches for the pope's liberty, which all men knew a letter under his hand could in a moment have procured.

The concern expreſſed by Henry and Francis for the calamity of their ally was more ſincere. Theſe two monarchs, a few days before the ſack of Rome, had concluded a treaty at Weſtminſter, in which, beſides renewing former alliances, they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to Charles, requiring him to accept of two millions of crowns as the ranſom of the French princes, and to repay the money borrowed from Henry; and, in caſe of refuſal, the ambaſſadors, attended by heralds, were ordered to denounce war againſt him. This war it was agreed to proſecute in the Low Countries with an army of thirty thouſand infantry and fifteen hundred men at arms; two thirds to be ſupplied by Francis, the reſt by Henry. And, in order to ſtrengthen the alliance between the princes, it was ſtipulated that either Francis, or his ſon the duke of Orleans, as ſhould afterwards be agreed on, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, Henry's daughter. No ſooner did the monarchs receive intelligence of Bourbon's enterpriſe than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war from the Netherlands to Italy; and, hearing of the pope's captivity, they were farther ſtimulated to undertake the war with vigour for reſtoring him to liberty. Wolſey himſelf croſſed the ſea, in order to have an interview with Francis, and to concert meaſures for that purpoſe; and he diſplayed all that grandeur and

magnificence with which he was ſo much intoxicated. He was attended by a train of a thouſand horſe. The cardinal of Lorraine and the chancellor Alençon met him at Boulogne. Francis himſelf, beſides granting to that haughty prelate the power of giving in every place where he came liberty to all priſoners, made a journey as far as Amiens to meet him, and even advanced ſome miles from the town, the more to honour his reception. It was here ſtipulated that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary; and, as the emperor ſeemed to be taking ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a general council, the two monarchs agreed not to acknowledge it; but, during the interval of the pope's captivity, to govern the churches in their reſpective dominions by their own authority. Wolſey made ſome attempts to get his legantine power extended over France, and even over Germany; but, finding his efforts fruitleſs, he was obliged, though with great reluctance, to deſiſt from theſe ambitious enterpriſes.[s]

LEAGUE WITH FRANCE.

THE more to cement the union between theſe princes, a new treaty was ſome time after concluded at London, in which Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often ſerved as a pretence for exciting the unwary Engliſh to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this conceſſion, Francis bound himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay for ever fifty thouſand crowns a year to Henry and his ſucceſſors; and, that greater ſolemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms ſhould give their aſſent to it. The mareſchal Montmorency, accompanied by many perſons of diſtinction, and attended by a

pompous equipage, was ſent over to ratify the treaty; and was received at London with all the parade which ſuited the ſolemnity of the occaſion. The terror of the emperor's greatneſs had extinguiſhed the ancient animoſity between the nations; and Spain, during more than a century, became, though a more diſtant power, the chief object of jealouſy to the Engliſh.

This cordial union between France and England, though it added influence to the joint embaſſy which they ſent to the emperor, was not able to bend that monarch to ſubmit entirely to the conditions inſiſted on by the allies. He departed indeed from his demand of Burgundy as the ranſom of the French princes; but he required, previouſly to their liberty, that Francis ſhould evacuate Genoa, and all the fortreſſes held by him in Italy: and he declared his intention of bringing Sforza to a trial, and confiſcating the duchy of Milan, on account of his pretended treaſon. The Engliſh and French heralds, therefore, according to agreement, declared war againſt him, and ſet him at defiance. Charles anſwered the Engliſh herald with moderation; but to the French he reproached his maſter with breach of faith, reminded him of the private converſation which had paſſed between them at Madrid before their ſeparation, and offered to prove, by ſingle combat, that he had acted diſhonourably. Francis retaliated this challenge, by giving Charles the lie; and, after demanding ſecurity of the field, he offered to maintain his cauſe by ſingle combat. Many meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; but, though both princes were undoubtedly brave, the intended duel never took place. The French and Spaniards during that age zealouſly diſputed which of the monarchs incurred the blame of this failure; but all men of moderation every where lamented the power of fortune, that the prince, the more candid, generous, and ſincere, ſhould by unhappy incidents have been reduced to ſo cruel a ſituation, that nothing but his vio-

lation of treaty could preſerve his people, and that he muſt ever after, without being able to make a proper reply, bear to be reproached with breach of promiſe by a rival, inferior to him both in honour and in virtue.

But, though this famous challenge between Charles and Francis had no immediate conſequence with regard to theſe monarchs themſelves, it produced a conſiderable alteration on the manners of the age. The practice of challenges and duels, which had been part of the ancient barbarous juriſprudence, which was ſtill preſerved on very ſolemn occaſions, and which was ſometimes countenanced by the civil magiſtrate, began thenceforth to prevail in the moſt trivial incidents; and men, on any affront or injury, thought themſelves entitled, or even required in honour, to take revenge on their enemies by openly vindicating their right in ſingle combat. Theſe abſurd, though generous, maxims ſhed much of the beſt blood in Chriſtendom during more than two centuries; and, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of law and authority of reaſon, ſuch is the prevailing force of cuſtom, they are far from being as yet entirely exploded.

CHAPTER XXX.

HENRY VIII.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE....THE KING ENTERS INTO THESE SCRUPLES....ANNE BOLEYN....HENRY APPLIES TO THE POPE FOR A DIVORCE....THE POPE FAVOURABLE....THE EMPEROR THREATENS HIM....THE POPE'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT ....TRIAL OF THE KING'S MARRIAGE....WOLSEY'S FALL....COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND....FOREIGN AFFAIRS....THE UNIVERSITIES CONSULTED ABOUT THE KING'S MARRIAGE....WOLSEY'S DEATH....A PARLIAMENT....PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION....A PARLIAMENT....KING'S FINAL BREACH WITH ROME....A PARLIAMENT.

SCRUPLES CONCERNING THE KING'S MARRIAGE. 1527.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſubmiſſive deference paid to papal authority before the reformation, the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, had not paſſed without much ſcruple and difficulty. The prejudices of the people were in general bent againſt a conjugal union between ſuch near relations; and the late king, though he had betrothed his ſon when that prince was but twelve years of age, gave evident proofs of his intention to take afterwards a proper opportunity

of annulling the contract.[t] He ordered the young prince, as ſoon as he came of age, to enter a proteſtation againſt the marriage;[u] and on his death-bed he charged him, as his laſt injunction, not to finiſh an alliance ſo unuſual, and expoſed to ſuch inſuperable objections. After the king's acceſſion ſome members of the privy council, particularly Warham the primate, openly declared againſt the reſolution of completing the marriage; and, though Henry's youth and diſſipation kept him during ſome time from entertaining any ſcruples with regard to the meaſure which he had embraced, there happened incidents ſufficient to rouſe his attention, and to inform him of the ſentiments generally entertained on that ſubject. The ſtates of Caſtile had oppoſed the emperor Charles's eſpouſals with Mary, Henry's daughter; and, among other objections, had inſiſted on the illegitimate birth of the young princeſs.[x] And, when the negociations were afterwards opened with France, and mention was made of betrothing her to Francis or the duke of Orleans, the biſhop of Tarbe, the French ambaſſador, revived the ſame objection.[y] But, though theſe events naturally raiſed ſome doubts in Henry's mind, there concurred other cauſes, which tended much to increaſe his remorſe, and render his conſcience more ſcrupulous.

THE KING ENTERS INTO THESE SCRUPLES.

The queen was older than the king by no leſs than ſix years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diſeaſes, had contributed, notwithſtanding her blameleſs character and deportment, to render her perſon unacceptable to him. Though ſhe had born him ſeveral children, they all died in early infancy, except one daughter; and he was the more ſtruck with this misfortune becauſe the curſe of being childleſs is the very threatening contained in the Moſaical law againſt

thoſe who eſpouſe their brother's widow. The ſucceſſion too of the crown was a conſideration that occurred to every one, whenever the lawfulneſs of Henry's marriage was called in queſtion; and it was apprehended that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakneſs of her ſex, the king of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretenſions, and might throw the kingdom into confuſion. The evils, as yet recent, of civil wars and convulſions, ariſing from a diſputed title, made great impreſſion on the minds of men, and rendered the people univerſally deſirous of any event which might obviate ſo irreparable a calamity. And the king was thus impelled, both by his private paſſions and by motives of public intereſt, to ſeek the diſſolution of his inauſpicious, and as it was eſteemed unlawful, marriage with Catherine.

Henry afterwards affirmed that his ſcruples aroſe entirely from private reflection; and that, on conſulting his confeſſor the biſhop of Lincoln, he found the prelate poſſeſſed with the ſame doubts and difficulties. The king himſelf, being ſo great a caſuiſt and divine, next proceeded to examine the queſtion more carefully by his own learning and ſtudy; and, having had recourſe to Thomas of Aquine, he obſerved that this celebrated doctor, whoſe authority was great in the church, and abſolute with him, had treated of that very caſe, and had expreſsly declared againſt the lawfulneſs of ſuch marriages.[z] 'The prohibitions,' ſaid Thomas, 'contained in Leviticus, and among the reſt that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and, though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them.' The archbiſhop of Canterbury was then applied to; and he was required to conſult his brethren. All the prelates of England, except Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, unanimouſly declared, under

their hand and ſeal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful.[a] Wolſey alſo fortified the king's ſcruples;[b] partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the emperor, Catherine's nephew; partly deſirous of connecting the king more cloſely with Francis, by marrying him to the ducheſs of Alençon, ſiſter to that monarch; and perhaps, too, ſomewhat diſguſted with the queen herſelf, who had reproved him for certain freedoms unbefitting his character and ſtation.[c] But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at firſt excited, by a motive more forcible than even the ſuggeſtions of that powerful favourite.

ANNE BOLEYN.

Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honour to the queen; and, having had frequent opportunities of being ſeen by Henry, and of converſing with him, ſhe had acquired an entire aſcendant over his affections. This young lady, whoſe grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her ſo celebrated, was daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by the king in ſeveral embaſſies, and who was allied to all the principal nobility in the kingdom. His wife, mother to Anne, was daughter of the duke of Norfolk; his own mother was daughter of the earl of Ormond; his grandfather ſir Geoffry Boleyn, who had been mayor of London, had eſpouſed one of the daughters and co-heirs of lord Haſtings.[d] Anne herſelf, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's ſiſter, when the princeſs eſpouſed Lewis XII of France; and, upon the demiſe of that monarch, and the return of his dowager into England, this damſel, whoſe accompliſhments even in her tender years were always much admired, was retained in the ſervice of Claude queen of France, ſpouſe to Francis; and after the death of that princeſs ſhe paſſed into

the family of the ducheſs of Alençon, a woman of ſingular merit. The exact time when ſhe returned to England is not certainly known; but it was after the king had entertained doubts with regard to the lawfulneſs of his marriage with Catherine, if the account is to be credited which he himſelf afterwards gave of that tranſaction. Henry's ſcruples had made him break off all conjugal commerce with the queen; but, as he ſtill ſupported an intercourſe of civility and friendſhip with her, he had occaſion, in the frequent viſits which he paid her, to obſerve the beauty, the youth, the charms, of Anne Boleyn. Finding the accompliſhments of her mind nowiſe inferior to her exterior graces, he even entertained the deſign of raiſing her to the throne; and was the more confirmed in this reſolution when he found that her virtue and modeſty prevented all hopes of gratifying his paſſion in any other manner. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy, ſeemed thus to concur in making the king deſirous of a divorce from Catherine, and as his proſpect of ſucceſs was inviting, he reſolved to make application to Clement; and he ſent Knight, his ſecretary, to Rome for that purpoſe.

HENRY APPLIES TO THE POPE FOR A DIVORCE.

That he might not ſhock the haughty claims of the pontiff, he reſolved not to found the application on any general doubts concerning the papal power to permit marriage in the nearer degrees of conſanguinity; but only to inſiſt on particular grounds of nullity in the bull which Julius had granted for the marriage of Henry and Catherine. It was a maxim in the court of Rome that, if the pope be ſurpriſed into any conceſſion, or grant any indulgence upon falſe ſuggeſtions, the bull may afterwards be annulled; and this pretence had uſually been employed where-

ever one pope had recalled any deed executed by any of his predeceſſors. But Julius's bull, when examined, afforded abundant matter of this kind; and any tribunal favourable to Henry needed not want a ſpecious colour for gratifying him in his applications for a divorce. It was ſaid, in the preamble, that the bull had been granted upon his ſolicitation, though it was known that at that time he was under twelve years of age: it was alſo affirmed, as another motive for the bull, that the marriage was requiſite in order to preſerve peace between the two crowns; though it is certain that there was not then any ground or appearance of quarrel between them. Theſe falſe premiſes in Julius's bull ſeemed to afford Clement a ſufficient reaſon or pretence for annulling it, and granting Henry a diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.[e]

THE POPE FAVOURABLE.

But, though the pretext for this indulgence had been leſs plauſible, the pope was in ſuch a ſituation that he had the ſtrongeſt motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the Engliſh monarch. He was then a priſoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reaſonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppoſe the ambition of Charles. When the Engliſh ſecretary, therefore, ſolicited him in private, he received a very favourable anſwer; and a diſpenſation was forthwith promiſed to be granted to his maſter.[f] Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, obliged the Imperialiſts to reſtore Clement to his liberty; and he retired to Orvietto, where the ſecretary, with ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, renewed their applications to him. They ſtill found him

full of high profeſſions of friendſhip, gratitude, and attachment, to the king; but not ſo prompt in granting his requeſt as they expected. The emperor, who had got intelligence of Henry's application to Rome, had exacted a promiſe from the pope to take no ſteps in the affair before he communicated them to the Imperial miniſters; and Clement, embarraſſed by this promiſe, and ſtill more overawed by the emperor's forces in Italy, ſeemed willing to poſtpone thoſe conceſſions deſired of him by Henry. Importuned, however, by the Engliſh miniſters, he at laſt put into their hands a commiſſion to Wolſey, as legate, in conjunction with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or any other Engliſh prelate, to examine the validity of the king's marriage, and of Julius's diſpenſation:[g] he alſo granted them a proviſional diſpenſation for the king's marriage with any other perſon; and promiſed to iſſue a decretal bull, annulling the marriage with Catherine. But he repreſented to them the dangerous conſequences which muſt enſue to him if theſe conceſſions ſhould come to the emperor's knowledge; and he conjured them not to publiſh thoſe papers, or make any farther uſe of them, till his affairs were in ſuch a ſituation as to ſecure his liberty and independence. And his ſecret advice was, whenever they ſhould find the proper time for opening the ſcene, that they ſhould prevent all oppoſition, by proceeding immediately to a concluſion, by declaring the marriage with Catherine invalid, and by Henry's inſtantly eſpouſing ſome other perſon. Nor would it be ſo difficult, he ſaid, for himſelf to confirm theſe proceedings after they were paſſed, as previouſly to render them valid by his conſent and authority.[h]

When Henry received the commiſſion and diſpenſation from his ambaſſadors, and was informed of the pope's advice, he laid the whole before his miniſters, and aſked their opinion in ſo delicate a ſituation. The Engliſh counſellors conſidered the dan-

ger of proceeding in the manner pointed out to them. Should the pope refuſe to ratify a deed, which he might juſtly call precipitate and irregular, and ſhould he diſavow the advice which he gave in ſo clandeſtine a manner, the king would find his ſecond marriage totally invalidated, the children which it might bring him declared illegitimate, and his marriage with Catherine more firmly rivetted than ever.[i] And Henry's apprehenſions of the poſſibility, or even probability, of ſuch an event, were much confirmed when he reflected on the character and ſituation of the ſovereign pontiff.

Clement was a prince of excellent judgment whenever his timidity, to which he was extremely ſubject, allowed him to make full uſe of thoſe talents and that penetration with which he was endowed.[k] The captivity and other misfortunes which he had undergone, by entering into a league againſt Charles, had ſo affected his imagination, that he never afterwards exerted himſelf with vigour in any public meaſure, eſpecially if the intereſt or inclinations of that potentate ſtood in oppoſition to him. The Imperial forces were at that time powerful in Italy, and might return to the attack of Rome, which was ſtill defenceleſs, and expoſed to the ſame calamities with which it had already been overwhelmed. And, beſides theſe dangers, Clement fancied himſelf expoſed to perils which threatened ſtill more immediately his perſon and his dignity.

THE EMPEROR THREATENS HIM. 1528.

CHARLES, appriſed of the timid diſpoſition of the holy father, threw out perpetual menaces of ſummoning a general council; which he repreſented as neceſſary to reform the church, and correct thoſe enormous abuſes which the ambition and avarice of the court of Rome had introduced into every branch of ec-

cleſiaſtical adminiſtration. The power of the ſovereign pontiff himſelf, he ſaid, required limitation; his conduct called aloud for amendment; and even his title to the throne which he filled might juſtly be called in queſtion. That pope had always paſſed for the natural ſon of Julian of Medicis, who was of the ſovereign family of Florence; and, though Leo X his kinſman had declared him legitimate, upon a pretended promiſe of marriage between his father and mother, few believed that declaration to be founded on any juſt reaſon or authority.[1] The canon law, indeed, had been entirely ſilent with regard to the promotion of baſtards to the papal throne; but, what was ſtill dangerous, the people had entertained a violent prepoſſeſſion that this ſtain in the birth of any perſon was incompatible with ſo holy an office. And, in another point, the canon law was expreſs and poſitive, that no man guilty of ſimony could attain that dignity. A ſevere bull of Julius II had added new ſanctions to this law, by declaring that a ſimoniacal election could not be rendered valid, even by a poſterior conſent of the cardinals. But, unfortunately, Clement had given to cardinal Colonna a billet, containing promiſes of advancing that cardinal, in caſe he himſelf ſhould attain the papal dignity by his concurrence; and this billet Colonna, who was in entire dependance on the emperor, threatened every moment to expoſe to public view.[m]

While Charles terrified the pope with theſe menaces, he alſo allured him by hopes which were no leſs prevalent over his affections. At the time when the emperor's forces ſacked Rome, and reduced Clement to captivity, the Florentines, paſſionate for their ancient liberty, had taken advantage of his diſtreſſes, and, revolting againſt the family of Medicis, had entirely aboliſhed their authority in Florence, and re-eſtabliſhed the democracy. The better to protect themſelves in their freedom, they had entered into the alliance with France, England, and Venice, againſt

the emperor; and Clement found that by this intereſt the hands of his confederates were tied from aſſiſting him in the reſtoration of his family; the event which, of all others, he moſt paſſionately deſired. The emperor alone, he knew, was able to effect this purpoſe; and therefore, whatever profeſſions he made of fidelity to his allies, he was always, on the leaſt glimpſe of hope, ready to embrace every propoſal of a cordial reconciliation with that monarch.[n]

Theſe views and intereſts of the pope were well known in England; and, as the oppoſition of the emperor to Henry's divorce was foreſeen, both on account of the honour and intereſts of Catherine his aunt, and the obvious motive of diſtreſſing an enemy, it was eſteemed dangerous to take any meaſure of conſequence, in expectation of the ſubſequent concurrence of a man of Clement's character, whoſe behaviour always contained ſo much duplicity, and who was at preſent ſo little at his own diſpoſal. The ſafeſt meaſure ſeemed to conſiſt in previouſly engaging him ſo far that he could not afterwards recede, and in making uſe of his preſent ambiguity and uncertainty to extort the moſt important conceſſions from him. For this purpoſe Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and Edward Fox, the king's almoner, were diſpatched to Rome, and were ordered to ſolicit a commiſſion from the pope, of ſuch a nature as would oblige him to confirm the ſentence of the commiſſioners, whatever it ſhould be, and diſable him on any account to recall the commiſſion, or evoke the cauſe to Rome.[o]

THE POPE'S AMBIGUOUS CONDUCT.

But the ſame reaſons, which made the king ſo deſirous of obtaining this conceſſion, confirmed the pope in the reſolution of refuſing it: he was ſtill determined to keep the door open for

an agreement with the emperor; and he made no ſcruple of ſacrificing all other conſiderations to a point which he deemed the moſt eſſential and important to his own ſecurity, and to the greatneſs of his family. He granted, therefore, a new commiſſion, in which cardinal Campeggio was joined to Wolſey, for the trial of the king's marriage; but he could not be prevailed on to inſert the clauſe deſired of him. And, though he put into Gardiner's hand a letter, promiſing not to recall the preſent commiſſion, this promiſe was found, on examination, to be couched in ſuch ambiguous terms as left him ſtill the power, whenever he pleaſed, of departing from it.[p]

Campeggio lay under ſome obligations to the king; but his dependance on the pope was ſo much greater, that he conformed himſelf entirely to the views of the latter; and, though he received his commiſſion in April, he delayed his departure under ſo many pretences, that it was October before he arrived in England. The firſt ſtep which he took was to exhort the king to deſiſt from the proſecution of his divorce; and, finding that this counſel gave offence, he ſaid that his intention was alſo to exhort the queen to take the vows in a convent, and that he thought it his duty previouſly to attempt an amicable compoſure of all differences.[q] The more to pacify the king, he ſhewed to him, as alſo to the cardinal, the decretal bull, annulling the former marriage with Catherine; but no entreaties could prevail on him to make any other of the king's council privy to the ſecret.[r] In order to atone in ſome degree for this obſtinacy, he expreſſed to the king and the cardinal the pope's great deſire of ſatisfying them in every reaſonable demand; and, in particular, he ſhewed that their requeſt for ſuppreſſing ſome more monaſteries, and converting them into cathedrals and epiſcopal ſees, had obtained the conſent of his holineſs.[s]

Theſe ambiguous circumſtances in the behaviour of the pope and the legate kept the court of England in ſuſpenſe, and determined the king to wait with patience the iſſue of ſuch uncertain councils. Fortune, meanwhile, ſeemed to promiſe him a more ſure and expeditious way of extricating himſelf from his preſent difficulties. Clement was ſeized with a dangerous illneſs; and the intrigues for electing his ſucceſſor began already to take place among the cardinals. Wolſey, in particular, ſupported by the intereſt of England and of France, entertained hopes of mounting the throne of St. Peter;[t] and it appears that, if a vacancy had then happened, there was a probability of his reaching that ſummit of his ambition. But the pope recovered, though after ſeveral relapſes; and he returned to the ſame train of falſe and deceitful politics by which he had hitherto amuſed the court of England. He ſtill flattered Henry with profeſſions of the moſt cordial attachment, and promiſed him a ſudden and favourable iſſue to his proceſs: he ſtill continued his ſecret negociations with Charles, and perſevered in the reſolution of ſacrificing all his promiſes, and all the intereſts of the Romiſh religion, to the elevation of his family. Campeggio, who was perfectly acquainted with his views and intentions, protracted the deciſion by the moſt artful delays; and gave Clement full leiſure to adjuſt all the terms of his treaty with the emperor.

The emperor, acquainted with the king's extreme earneſtneſs in this affair, was determined that he ſhould obtain ſucceſs by no other means than by an application to him, and by deſerting his alliance with Francis, which had hitherto ſupported, againſt the ſuperior force of Spain, the tottering ſtate of the French monarchy. He willingly hearkened, therefore, to the applications of Catherine, his aunt; and, promiſing her his utmoſt protection, exhorted her never to yield to the malice and perſecutions of her enemies. The queen herſelf was naturally of a firm and

TRIAL OF THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VIII

reſolute temper; and was engaged by every motive to perſevere in proteſting againſt the injuſtice to which ſhe thought herſelf expoſed. The imputation of inceſt, which was thrown upon her marriage with Henry, ſtruck her with the higheſt indignation; the illegitimacy of her daughter, which ſeemed a neceſſary conſequence, gave her the moſt juſt concern; the reluctance of yielding to a rival, who ſhe believed had ſupplanted her in the king's affections, was a very natural motive. Actuated by all theſe conſiderations, ſhe never ceaſed ſoliciting her nephew's aſſiſtance, and earneſtly entreating an evocation of the cauſe to Rome, where alone ſhe thought ſhe could expect juſtice. And the emperor, in all his negociations with the pope, made the recall of the commiſſion which Campeggio and Wolſey exerciſed in England a fundamental article."

TRIAL OF THE KING'S MARRIAGE. MAY 31, 1529.

THE two legates, meanwhile, opened their court at London, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both preſented themſelves; and the king anſwered to his name when called; but the queen, inſtead of anſwering to hers, roſe from her ſeat, and, throwing herſelf at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes, rendered the more affecting. She told him that ſhe was a ſtranger in his dominions, without protection, without council, without aſſiſtance; expoſed to all the injuſtice which her enemies were pleaſed to impoſe upon her; that ſhe had quitted her native country without other reſource than her connexions with him and his family, and had expected that, inſtead of ſuffering thence any violence or iniquity, ſhe was aſſured in them of a ſafeguard againſt every misfortune; that ſhe had been his wife during twenty years, and would here appeal to himſelf

whether her affectionate ſubmiſſion to his will had not merited better treatment than to be thus, after ſo long a time, thrown from him with ſo much indignity; that ſhe was conſcious....he himſelf was aſſured....that her virgin honour was yet unſtained when he received her into his bed, and that her connexions with his brother had been carried no farther than the ceremony of marriage: that their parents, the kings of England and Spain, were eſteemed the wiſeſt princes of their time, and had undoubtedly acted by the beſt advice when they formed the agreement for that marriage which was now repreſented as ſo criminal and unnatural; and that ſhe acquieſced in their judgment, and would not ſubmit her cauſe to be tried by a court whoſe dependance on her enemies was too viſible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial deciſion.[x] Having ſpoken theſe words, ſhe roſe, and, making the king a low reverence, ſhe departed from the court, and never would again appear in it.

After her departure the king did her the juſtice to acknowledge that ſhe had ever been a dutiful and affectionate wife, and that the whole tenour of her behaviour had been conformable to the ſtricteſt rules of probity and honour. He only inſiſted on his own ſcruples with regard to the lawfulneſs of their marriage; and he explained the origin, the progreſs, and the foundation, of thoſe doubts by which he had been ſo long and ſo violently agitated. He acquitted cardinal Wolſey from having any hand in encouraging his ſcruples; and he craved a ſentence of the court agreeable to the juſtice of his cauſe.

The legates, after citing the queen anew, declared her contumacious, notwithſtanding her appeal to Rome; and then proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The firſt point which came before them was the proof of prince Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catherine; and it muſt be confeſſed

that no ſtronger arguments could reaſonably be expected of ſuch a fact after ſo long an interval. The age of the prince, who had paſſed his fifteenth year, the good ſtate of his health, the long time that he had cohabited with his conſort, many of his expreſſions to that very purpoſe; all theſe circumſtances form a violent preſumption in favour of the king's aſſertion.[y] Henry himſelf, after his brother's death, was not allowed for ſome time to bear the title of prince of Wales, in expectation of her pregnancy: the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in order the better to enſure poſſeſſion of her jointure, had ſent over to Spain proofs of the conſummation of her marriage:[z] Julius's bull itſelf was founded on the ſuppoſition that Arthur had perhaps had knowledge of the princeſs: in the very treaty, fixing Henry's marriage, the conſummation of the former marriage with prince Arthur is acknowledged on both ſides.[a] Theſe particulars were all laid before the court; accompanied with many reaſonings concerning the extent of the pope's authority, and againſt his power of granting a diſpenſation to marry within the prohibited degrees. Campeggio heard theſe doctrines with great impatience; and, notwithſtanding his reſolution to protract the cauſe, he was often tempted to interrupt and ſilence the king's counſel when they inſiſted on ſuch diſagreeable topics. The trial was ſpun out till the twenty-third of July; and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. Wolſey, though the elder cardinal, permitted him to act as preſident of the court; becauſe it was thought that a trial managed by an Italian cardinal would carry the appearance of greater candour and impartiality than if the king's own miniſter and favourite had preſided in it. The buſineſs now ſeemed to be drawing near to a period; and the king was every day in expectation of a ſentence in his favour; when, to his great ſurpriſe, Campeggio, on a ſudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretences,[b] prorogued the court till

the firſt of October. The evocation, which came a few days after from Rome, put an end to all the hopes of ſucceſs which the king had ſo long and ſo anxiouſly cheriſhed.[c]

During the time that the trial was carried on before the legates at London the emperor had, by his miniſters, earneſtly ſolicited Clement to evoke the cauſe; and had employed every topic of hope or terror which could operate either on the ambition or timidity of the pontiff. The Engliſh ambaſſadors, on the other hand, in conjunction with the French, had been no leſs earneſt in their applications that the legates ſhould be allowed to finiſh the trial; but, though they employed the ſame engines of promiſes and menaces, the motives which they could ſet before the pope were not ſo urgent or immediate as thoſe which were held up to him by the emperor.[d] The dread of loſing England, and of fortifying the Lutherans by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, made ſmall impreſſion on Clement's mind, in compariſon of the anxiety for his perſonal ſafety, and the fond deſire of reſtoring the Medicis to their dominion in Florence. As ſoon, therefore, as he had adjuſted all terms with the emperor, he laid hold of the pretence of juſtice, which required him, as he aſſerted, to pay regard to the queen's appeal; and, ſuſpending the commiſſion of the legates, he adjourned the cauſe to his own perſonal judgment at Rome. Campeggio had, beforehand, received private orders, delivered by Campana, to burn the decretal bull with which he was intruſted.

Wolſey had long foreſeen this meaſure as the ſure forerunner of his ruin. Though he had at firſt deſired that the king ſhould rather marry a French princeſs than Anne Boleyn, he had employed himſelf with the utmoſt aſſiduity and earneſtneſs to bring the affair to a happy iſſue:[e] he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unproſperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. But he had ſufficient experience of the extreme ardour

and impatience of Henry's temper, who could bear no contradiction, and who was wont, without examination or diſtinction, to make his miniſters anſwerable for the ſucceſs of thoſe tranſactions with which they were intruſted. Anne Boleyn alſo, who was prepoſſeſſed againſt him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes; and, as ſhe was newly returned to court, whence ſhe had been removed from a regard to decency during the trial before the legates, ſhe had naturally acquired an additional influence on Henry, and ſhe ſerved much to fortify his prejudices againſt the cardinal.[f] Even the queen and her partiſans, judging of Wolſey by the part which he had openly acted, had expreſſed great animoſity againſt him; and the moſt oppoſite factions ſeemed now to combine in the ruin of this haughty miniſter. The high opinion itſelf, which Henry had entertained of the cardinal's capacity, tended to haſten his downfal; while he imputed the bad ſucceſs of that miniſter's undertakings, not to ill fortune, or to miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. The blow, however, fell not inſtantly on his head. The king, who probably could not juſtify by any good reaſon his alienation from his ancient favourite, ſeems to have remained ſome time in ſuſpenſe; and he received him, if not with all his former kindneſs, at leaſt with the appearance of truſt and regard.

WOLSEY'S FALL.

But conſtant experience evinces how rarely a high confidence and affection receives the leaſt diminution without ſinking into abſolute indifference, or even running into the oppoſite extreme. The king now determined to bring on the ruin of the cardinal with a motion almoſt as precipitate as he had formerly employed in his elevation. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were

ſent to require the great ſeal from him; and, on his ſcrupling to deliver it [g] without a more expreſs warrant, Henry wrote him a letter, upon which it was ſurrendered, and it was delivered by the king to ſir Thomas More, a man who, beſides the ornaments of an elegant literature, poſſeſſed the higheſt virtue, integrity, and capacity.

Wolſey was ordered to depart from York-place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the ſee of York, was ſeized by Henry, and became afterwards the reſidence of the kings of England, by the title of White-hall. All his furniture and plate were alſo ſeized; their riches and ſplendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of ſilver; he had a cupboard of plate of maſſy gold; there were found a thouſand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The reſt of his riches and furniture was in proportion; and his opulence was, probably, no ſmall inducement to this violent perſecution againſt him.

The cardinal was ordered to retire to Aſher, a country ſeat which he poſſeſſed near Hampton-court. The world, that had paid him ſuch abject court during his proſperity, now entirely deſerted him on this fatal reverſe of all his fortunes. He himſelf was much dejected with the change; and, from the ſame turn of mind which had made him be ſo vainly elated with his grandeur, he felt the ſtroke of adverſity [h] with double rigour. The ſmalleſt appearance of his return to favour threw him into tranſports of joy unbecoming a man. The king had ſeemed willing, during ſome time, to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. He granted him his protection, and left him in poſſeſſion of the ſees of York and Wincheſter. He even ſent him a gracious meſſage, accompanied with a ring, as a teſtimony of his affection. Wolſey, who was on horſeback when the meſſen-

ger met him, immediately alighted; and, throwing himſelf on his knees in the mire, received, in that humble attitude, theſe marks of his majeſty's gracious diſpoſition towards him.[i]

But his enemies, who dreaded his return to court, never ceaſed plying the king with accounts of his ſeveral offences; and Anne Boleyn, in particular, contributed her endeavours, in conjunction with her uncle the duke of Norfolk, to exclude him from all hopes of ever being reinſtated in his former authority. He diſmiſſed, therefore, his numerous retinue; and, as he was a kind and beneficent maſter, the ſeparation paſſed not without a plentiful effuſion of tears on both ſides.[k] The king's heart, notwithſtanding ſome gleams of kindneſs, ſeemed now totally hardened againſt his old favourite. He ordered him to be indicted in the ſtar chamber, where a ſentence was paſſed againſt him. And, not content with this ſeverity, he abandoned him to all the rigour of the parliament, which now, after a long interval, was again aſſembled. The houſe of lords voted a long charge againſt Wolſey, conſiſting of forty-four articles; and accompanied it with an application to the king for his puniſhment, and his removal from all authority. Little oppoſition was made to this charge in the upper houſe: no evidence of any part of it was ſo much as called for; and, as it chiefly conſiſts of general accuſations, it was ſcarcely ſuſceptible of any.[l] The articles were ſent down to the houſe of commons; where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a ſervant of the cardinal's, and who had been raiſed by him from a very low ſtation, defended his unfortunate patron with ſuch ſpirit, generoſity, and courage, as acquired him great honour, and laid the foundation of that favour which he afterwards enjoyed with the king.

Wolſey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any juſt ground of accuſing him, had recourſe to a very extraordinary expedient. An in-

dictment was laid againſt him, that, contrary to a ſtatute of Richard II, (commonly called the ſtatute of proviſors) he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one inveſting him with the legantine power, which he had exerciſed with very extenſive authority. He confeſſed the indictment, pleaded ignorance of the ſtatute, and threw himſelf on the king's mercy. He was, perhaps, within reach of the law; but, beſides that this ſtatute had fallen into diſuſe, nothing could be more rigorous and ſevere than to impute to him as a crime what he had openly, during the courſe of ſo many years, practiſed with the conſent and approbation of the king, and the acquieſcence of the parliament and kingdom: not to mention what he always aſſerted,[m] and what we can ſcarcely doubt of, that he had obtained the royal licenſe in the moſt formal manner, which, had he not been apprehenſive of the dangers attending any oppoſition to Henry's lawleſs will, he might have pleaded in his own defence before the judges. Sentence, however, was pronounced againſt him, 'that he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his perſon might be committed to cuſtody.' But this proſecution of Wolſey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offences; reſtored him part of his plate and furniture; and ſtill continued from time to time to drop expreſſions of favour and compaſſion towards him.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

The complaints againſt the uſurpations of the eccleſiaſtics had been very ancient in England, as well as in moſt other European kingdoms; and, as this topic was now become popular every where, it had paved the way for the Lutheran tenets, and reconciled the people in ſome meaſure to the frightful idea of hereſy and innovation. The commons, finding the occaſion favourable,

paſſed ſeveral bills reſtraining the impoſitions of the clergy; one for the regulating of mortuaries; another againſt the exactions for the probates of wills;[n] a third againſt non-reſidence and pluralities, and againſt churchmen's being farmers of land. But what appeared chiefly dangerous to the eccleſiaſtical order were the ſevere invectives thrown out, almoſt without oppoſition, in the houſe againſt the diſſolute lives of the prieſts, their ambition, their avarice, and their endleſs encroachments on the laity. Lord Herbert has even preſerved the ſpeech of a gentleman of Gray's Inn, which is of a ſingular nature, and contains ſuch topics as we ſhould little expect to meet with during that period. The member inſiſts upon the vaſt variety of theological opinions which prevailed in different nations and ages; the endleſs inextricable controverſies maintained by the ſeveral ſects; the impoſſibility that any man, much leſs the people, could ever know, much leſs examine, the tenets and principles of every ſect; the neceſſity of ignorance, and a ſuſpenſe of judgment, with regard to all thoſe objects of diſpute: and, upon the whole, he infers that the only religion obligatory on mankind is the belief of one ſupreme Being, the author of nature; and the neceſſity of good morals, in order to obtain his favour and protection. Such ſentiments would be deemed latitudinarian, even in our time, and would not be advanced without ſome precaution in a public aſſembly. But, though the firſt broaching of religious controverſy might encourage the ſceptical turn in a few perſons of a ſtudious diſpoſition, the zeal with which men ſoon after attached themſelves to their ſeveral parties ſerved effectually to baniſh for a long time all ſuch obnoxious liberties.

The bills for regulating the clergy met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Biſhop Fiſher, in particular, imputed theſe meaſures of the commons to their want of faith; and to a formed deſign, derived from heretical and Lutheran principles,

of robbing the church of her patrimony, and overturning the national religion. The duke of Norfolk reproved the prelate in ſevere, and even ſomewhat indecent, terms. He told him that the greateſt clerks were not always the wiſeſt men. But Fiſher replied that he did not remember any fools in his time who had proved great clerks. The exceptions taken at the biſhop of Rocheſter's ſpeech ſtopped not there. The commons, by the mouth of ſir Thomas Audley their ſpeaker, made complaints to the king of the reflections thrown upon them; and the biſhop was obliged to put a more favourable conſtruction on his words.[o]

Henry was not diſpleaſed that the court of Rome and the clergy ſhould be ſenſible that they were entirely dependent on him; and that his parliament, if he were willing to ſecond their inclinations, was ſufficiently diſpoſed to reduce the power and privileges of the eccleſiaſtics. The commons gratified the king in another particular of moment; they granted him a diſcharge of all thoſe debts which he had contracted ſince the beginning of his reign; and they grounded this bill, which occaſioned many complaints, on a pretence of the king's great care of the nation, and of his regularly employing all the money which he had borrowed in the public ſervice. Moſt of the king's creditors conſiſted of friends to the cardinal, who had been engaged by their patron to contribute to the ſupply of Henry's neceſſities; and the preſent courtiers were well pleaſed to take the opportunity of mulcting them.[p] Several alſo approved of an expedient which they hoped would ever after diſcredit a method of ſupply ſo irregular and ſo unparliamentary.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The domeſtic tranſactions of England were at preſent ſo intereſting to the king, that they chiefly engaged his attention; and

he regarded foreign affairs only in ſubordination to them. He had declared war againſt the emperor; but the mutual advantages reaped by the commerce between England and the Netherlands had engaged him to ſtipulate a neutrality with thoſe provinces; and, except by money contributed to the Italian wars, he had in effect exerciſed no hoſtility againſt any of the Imperial dominions. A general peace was this ſummer eſtabliſhed in Europe. Margaret of Auſtria and Louiſa of Savoy met at Cambray, and ſettled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Charles accepted of two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy; and he delivered up the two princes of France, whom he had retained as hoſtages. Henry was on this occaſion ſo generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he ſent him an acquittal of near ſix hundred thouſand crowns which that prince owed him. Francis's Italian confederates were not ſo well ſatisfied as the king with the peace of Cambray; they were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and ſeemed to have no means of ſecurity left but his equity and moderation. Florence, after a brave reſiſtance, was ſubdued by the Imperial arms, and finally delivered over to the dominion of the family of Medicis. The Venetians were better treated; they were only obliged to relinquiſh ſome acquiſitions which they had made on the coaſt of Naples; even Francis Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of Milan, and was pardoned for all paſt offences. The emperor in perſon paſſed into Italy with a magnificent train, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope at Bologna. He was but twenty-nine years of age; and, having already, by his vigour and capacity, ſucceeded in every enterpriſe, and reduced to captivity the two greateſt potentates in Europe, the one ſpiritual, the other temporal, he attracted the eyes of all men; and many prognoſtications were formed of his growing empire.

But, though Charles ſeemed to be proſperous on every ſide, and though the conqueſt of Mexico and Peru now began to prevent that ſcarcity of money under which he had hitherto laboured, he found himſelf threatened with difficulties in Germany; and his deſire of ſurmounting them was the chief cauſe of his granting ſuch moderate conditions to the Italian powers. Sultan Solyman, the greateſt and moſt accompliſhed prince that ever ſat on the Ottoman throne, had almoſt entirely ſubdued Hungary, had beſieged Vienna, and, though repulſed, ſtill menaced the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria with conqueſt and ſubjection. The Lutheran princes of the empire, finding that liberty of conſcience was denied them, had combined in a league for their own defence at Smalcalde; and, becauſe they proteſted againſt the votes paſſed in the Imperial diet, they thenceforth received the appellation of 'proteſtants.' Charles had undertaken to reduce them to obedience; and, on pretence of ſecuring the purity of religion, he had laid a ſcheme for aggrandiſing his own family, by extending its dominion over all Germany.

The friendſhip of Henry was one material circumſtance yet wanting to Charles, in order to enſure ſucceſs in his ambitious enterpriſes; and the king was ſufficiently appriſed that the concurrence of that prince would at once remove all the difficulties which lay in the way of his divorce; that point which had long been the object of his moſt earneſt wiſhes. But, beſides that the intereſts of his kingdom ſeemed to require an alliance with France, his haughty ſpirit could not ſubmit to a friendſhip impoſed on him by conſtraint; and, as he had ever been accuſtomed to receive courtſhip, deference, and ſolicitation, from the greateſt potentates, he could ill brook that dependance to which this unhappy affair ſeemed to have reduced him. Amidſt the anxieties with which he was agitated, he

was often tempted to break off all connexions with the court of Rome; and, though he had been educated in a ſuperſtitious reverence to papal authority, it is likely that his perſonal experience of the duplicity and ſelfiſh politics of Clement had ſerved much to open his eyes in that particular. He found his prerogative firmly eſtabliſhed at home; he obſerved that his people were in general much diſguſted with clerical uſurpations, and diſpoſed to reduce the powers and privileges of the eccleſiaſtical order; he knew that they had cordially taken part with him in his proſecution of the divorce, and highly reſented the unworthy treatment which, after ſo many ſervices and ſuch devoted attachment, he had received from the court of Rome. Anne Boleyn alſo could not fail to uſe all her efforts, and employ every inſinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities againſt the pope; both as it was the readieſt way to her attaining royal dignity, and as her education in the court of the ducheſs of Alençon, a princeſs inclined to the reformers, had already diſpoſed her to a belief of the new doctrines. But, notwithſtanding theſe inducements, Henry had ſtrong motives ſtill to deſire a good agreement with the ſovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of ſuch great innovations; he dreaded the reproach of hereſy; he abhorred all connexions with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power; and, having once exerted himſelf with ſuch applauſe, as he imagined, in defence of the Romiſh communion, he was aſhamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from paſſion ſuch a palpable inconſiſtency. While he was agitated by theſe contrary motives an expedient was propoſed, which, as it promiſed a ſolution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction.

THE UNIVERSITIES CONSULTED.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jeſus College in Cambridge, was a man remarkable in that univerſity for his learning, and ſtill more for the candour and diſintereſtedneſs of his temper. He fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now ſecretary of ſtate, and Fox, the king's almoner; and, as the buſineſs of the divorce became the ſubject of converſation, he obſerved that the readieſt way, either to quiet Henry's conſcience or extort the pope's conſent, would be to conſult all the univerſities of Europe with regard to this controverted point: if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorſes would naturally ceaſe; if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to reſiſt the ſolicitations of ſo great a monarch, ſeconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Chriſtendom.[q] When the king was informed of the propoſal he was delighted with it; and ſwore, with more alacrity than delicacy, that Cranmer had got the right ſow by the ear: he ſent for that divine; entered into converſation with him; conceived a high opinion of his virtue and underſtanding; engaged him to write in defence of the divorce; and immediately, in proſecution of the ſcheme propoſed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the univerſities in Europe.

Had the queſtion of Henry's marriage with Catherine been examined by the principles of ſound philoſophy, exempt from ſuperſtition, it ſeemed not liable to much difficulty. The natural reaſon why marriage in certain degrees is prohibited by the civil laws, and condemned by the moral ſentiments of all nations, is derived from men's care to preſerve purity of manners; while they reflect that, if a commerce of love were authoriſed between near relations, the frequent opportunities of intimate converſa-

tion, eſpecially during early youth, would introduce an univerſal diſſoluteneſs and corruption. But, as the cuſtoms of countries vary conſiderably, and open an intercourſe more or leſs reſtrained between different families, or between the ſeveral members of the ſame family, we find that the moral precept, varying with its cauſe, is ſuſceptible, without any inconvenience, of very different latitude in the ſeveral ages and nations of the world. The extreme delicacy of the Greeks permitted no communication between perſons of different ſexes, except where they lived under the ſame roof; and even the apartments of a ſtep-mother and her daughters were almoſt as much ſhut up againſt viſits from the huſband's ſons, as againſt thoſe from any ſtranger or more diſtant relation: hence, in that nation it was lawful for a man to marry not only his niece, but his half-ſiſter by the father; a liberty unknown to the Romans and other nations, where a more open intercourſe was authoriſed between the ſexes. Reaſoning from this principle, it would appear that the ordinary commerce of life among great princes is ſo obſtructed, by ceremony and numerous attendants, that no ill conſequence would reſult among them from marrying a brother's widow; eſpecially if the diſpenſation of the ſupreme prieſt be previouſly required, in order to juſtify what may in common caſes be condemned, and to hinder the precedent from becoming too common and familiar. And, as ſtrong motives of public intereſt and tranquillity may frequently require ſuch alliances between the foreign families, there is the leſs reaſon for extending towards them the full rigour of the rule which has place among individuals.[r]

But, in oppoſition to theſe reaſons, and many more which might be collected, Henry had cuſtom and precedent on his ſide; the principle by which men are almoſt wholly governed in their actions and opinions. The marrying of a brother's widow was ſo unuſual, that no other inſtance of it could be found in any

hiſtory or record of any Chriſtian nation; and, though the popes were accuſtomed to diſpenſe with more eſſential precepts of morality, and even permitted marriages within other prohibited degrees, ſuch as thoſe of uncle and niece, the imaginations of men were not yet reconciled to this particular exerciſe of his authority. Several univerſities of Europe, therefore, without heſitation, as well as without intereſt or reward,[s] gave verdict in the king's favour; not only thoſe of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Tolouſe, Angiers, which might be ſuppoſed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but alſo thoſe of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua; even Bologna itſelf, though under the immediate juriſdiction of Clement. Oxford alone,[t] and Cambridge,[u] made ſome difficulty; becauſe theſe univerſities, alarmed at the progreſs of Lutheraniſm, and dreading a defection from the holy ſee, ſcrupled to give their ſanction to meaſures whoſe conſequences they feared would prove fatal to the ancient religion. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other univerſities of Europe, was at laſt obtained; and the king, in order to give more weight to all theſe authorities, engaged his nobility to write a letter to the pope, recommending his cauſe to the holy father, and threatening him with the moſt dangerous conſequences in caſe of a denial of juſtice.[x] The convocations too, both of Canterbury and York, pronounced the king's marriage invalid, irregular, and contrary to the law of God, with which no human power had authority to diſpenſe.[y] But Clement, lying ſtill under the influence of the emperor, continued to ſummon the king to appear, either by himſelf or proxy, before his tribunal at Rome; and the king, who knew that he could expect no fair trial there, refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch a condition, and would not even admit of any citation, which he regarded as a high inſult, and a violation of his royal prerogative. The father of Anne Boleyn, created earl of Wiltſhire, carried to the

pope the king's reaſons for not appearing by proxy; and, as the firſt inſtance of diſreſpect from England, refuſed to kiſs his holineſs's foot, which he very graciouſly held out to him for that purpoſe.[z]

The extremities to which Henry was puſhed, both againſt the pope and the eccleſiaſtical order, were naturally diſagreeable to cardinal Wolſey; and, as Henry foreſaw his oppoſition, it is the moſt probable reaſon that can be aſſigned for his renewing the proſecution againſt his ancient favourite. After Wolſey had remained ſome time at Aſher, he was allowed to remove to Richmond, a palace which he had received as a preſent from Henry, in return for Hampton-court: but the courtiers, dreading ſtill his vicinity to the king, procured an order for him to remove to his ſee of York. The cardinal knew it was in vain to reſiſt; he took up his reſidence at Cawood in Yorkſhire, where he rendered himſelf extremely popular in the neighbourhood by his affability and hoſpitality;[a] but he was not allowed to remain long unmoleſted in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders, without regard to Wolſey's eccleſiaſtical character, to arreſt him for high treaſon, and to conduct him to London, in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was ſeized with a diſorder which turned into a dyſentery; and he was able, with ſome difficulty, to reach Leiceſter abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much reſpect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never roſe more. A little before he expired he addreſſed himſelf in the following words to ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the tower, who had him in cuſtody: 'I pray you, have me heartily recommended unto his royal majeſty, and beſeech him on my behalf to call to his remembrance all matters

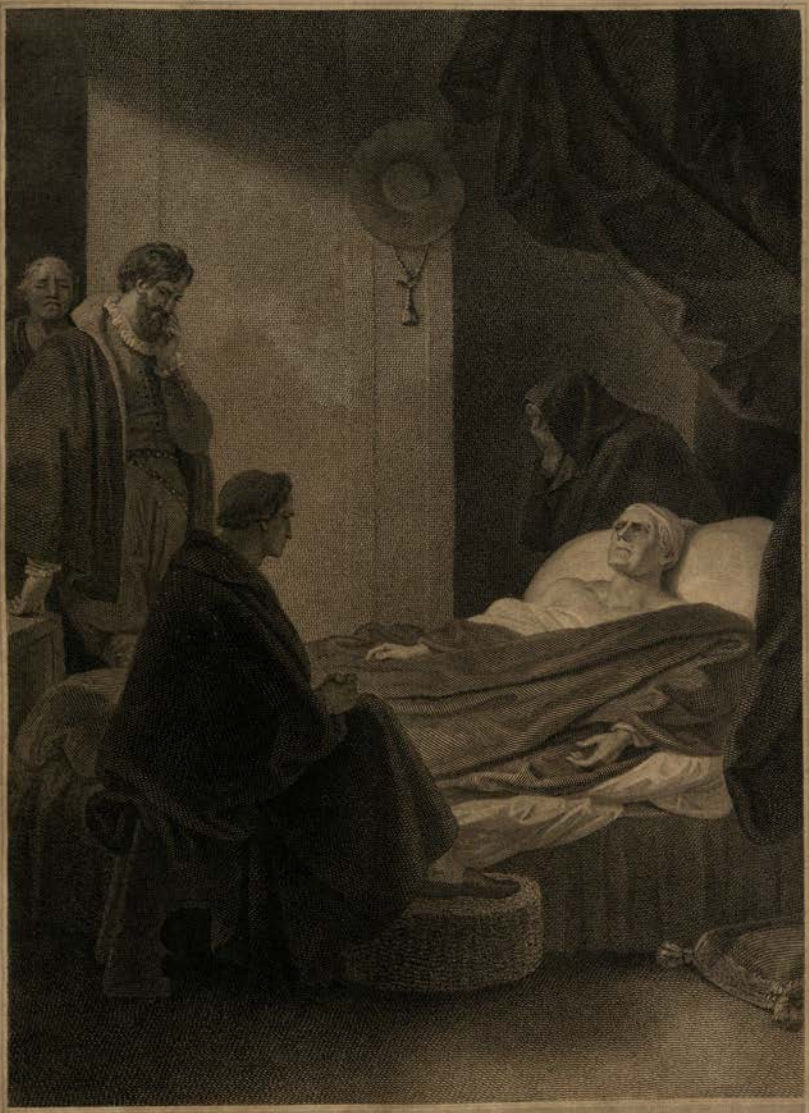
that have paſſed between us from the beginning, eſpecially with regard to his buſineſs with the queen; and then will he know in his conſcience whether I have offended him.

'He is a prince of a moſt royal carriage, and hath a princely heart; and, rather than he will miſs or want any part of his will, he will endanger the one half of his kingdom.

'I do aſſure you that I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite; but could not prevail. Had I but ſerved God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the juſt reward that I muſt receive for my indulgent pains and ſtudy, not regarding my ſervice to God, but only to my prince. Therefore let me adviſe you, if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wiſdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head, for you can never put it [b] out again.'

WOLSEY'S DEATH. 1530.

Thus died this famous cardinal, whoſe character ſeems to have contained as ſingular a variety as the fortune to which he was expoſed. The obſtinacy and violence of the king's temper may alleviate much of the blame which ſome of his favourite's meaſures have undergone; and, when we conſider that the ſubſequent part of Henry's reign was much more criminal than that which had been directed by Wolſey's counſels, we ſhall be inclined to ſuſpect thoſe hiſtorians of partiality, who have endeavoured to load the memory of this miniſter with ſuch violent reproaches. If in foreign politics he ſometimes employed his influence over the king for his private purpoſes rather than his maſter's ſervice, which he boaſted he had ſolely at heart, we muſt remember that he had in view the papal throne; a dig-



THE DEATH OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

nity which, had he attained it, would have enabled him to make Henry a ſuitable return for all his favours. The cardinal of Amboiſe, whoſe memory is reſpected in France, always made this apology for his own conduct, which was in ſome reſpect ſimilar to Wolſey's; and we have reaſon to think that Henry was well acquainted with the views by which his miniſter was influenced, and took a pride in promoting them. He much regretted his death when informed of it, and always ſpoke favourably of his memory; a proof that humour more than reaſon, or any diſcovery of treachery, had occaſioned the laſt perſecutions againſt him.

A PARLIAMENT. 1531.

A NEW ſeſſion of parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave ſtrong proofs of his extenſive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depreſſion of the clergy. As an ancient ſtatute, now almoſt obſolete, had been employed to ruin Wolſey, and render his exerciſe of the legantine power criminal, notwithſtanding the king's permiſſion, the ſame law was now turned againſt the eccleſiaſtics. It was pretended that every one who had ſubmitted to the legantine court, that is, the whole church, had violated the ſtatute of proviſors; and the attorney general accordingly brought an indictment againſt them.[c] The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppoſe reaſon or equity to the king's arbitrary will, or plead that their ruin would have been the certain conſequence of not ſubmitting to Wolſey's commiſſion, which was procured by Henry's conſent, and ſupported by his authority. They choſe, therefore, to throw themſelves on the mercy of their ſovereign; and they agreed to pay one hundred and eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds for a pardon.[d] A confeſſion

was likewiſe extorted from them that 'the king was the protector and the ſupreme head of the church and clergy of England;' though ſome of them had the dexterity to get a clauſe inſerted which invalidated the whole ſubmiſſion, and which ran in theſe terms, 'in ſo far as is permitted by the law of Chriſt.'

The commons, finding that a pardon was granted the clergy, began to be apprehenſive for themſelves, leſt either they ſhould afterwards be brought into trouble on account of their ſubmiſſion to the legantine court, or a ſupply in like manner be extorted from them in return for their pardon. They therefore petitioned the king to grant a remiſſion to his lay ſubjects; but they met with a repulſe. He told them that, if he ever choſe to forgive their offence, it would be from his own goodneſs, not from their application, leſt he ſhould ſeem to be compelled to it. Some time after, when they deſpaired of obtaining this conceſſion, he was pleaſed to iſſue a pardon to the laity; and the commons expreſſed great gratitude for that act of clemency.[e]

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION. 1532.

By this ſtrict execution of the ſtatute of proviſors a great part of the profit, and ſtill more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off; and the connexions between the pope and the Engliſh clergy were in ſome meaſure diſſolved. The next ſeſſion found both king and parliament in the ſame diſpoſitions. An act was paſſed againſt levying the annates or firſt fruits,[f] being a year's rent of all the biſhoprics that fell vacant; a tax which was impoſed by the court of Rome for granting bulls to the new prelates, and which was found to amount to conſiderable ſums. Since the ſecond of Henry VII no leſs than one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds had been tranſmitted to Rome on

account of this claim; which the parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. on all the epiſcopal benefices. The better to keep the pope in awe, the king was intruſted with a power of regulating theſe payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleaſure: and it was voted that any cenſures, which ſhould be paſſed by the court of Rome on account of that law, ſhould be entirely diſregarded; and that maſs ſhould be ſaid, and the ſacraments adminiſtered, as if no ſuch cenſures had been iſſued.

This ſeſſion the commons preferred to the king a long complaint againſt the abuſes and oppreſſions of the eccleſiaſtical courts; and they were proceeding to enact laws for remedying them when a difference aroſe, which put an end to the ſeſſion before the parliament had finiſhed all their buſineſs. It was become a cuſtom for men to make ſuch ſettlements or truſt-deeds of their lands by will, that they defrauded not only the king, but all other lords, of their wards, marriages, and reliefs; and by the ſame artifice the king was deprived of his premier ſeiſin, and the profits of the livery, which were no inconſiderable branches of his revenue. Henry made a bill to be drawn to moderate, not remedy altogether, this abuſe: he was contented that every man ſhould have the liberty of diſpoſing in this manner of the half of his land; and he told the parliament in plain terms, 'if they would not take a reaſonable thing when it was offered, he would ſearch out the extremity of the law, and then would not offer them ſo much again.' The lords came willingly into his terms; but the commons rejected the bill: a ſingular inſtance, where Henry might ſee that his power and authority, though extenſive, had yet ſome boundaries. The commons, however, found reaſon to repent of their victory. The king made good his threats; he called together the judges and ableſt lawyers, who argued the queſtion in chancery; and it was decided

that a man could not by law bequeath any part of his lands in prejudice of his heir.[g]

The parliament being again aſſembled after a ſhort prorogation, the king cauſed the two oaths to be read to them, that which the biſhops took to the pope, and that to the king, on their inſtallation; and, as a contradiction might be ſuſpected between them, while the prelates ſeemed to ſwear allegiance to two ſovereigns,[h] the parliament ſhewed their intention of aboliſhing the oath to the pope, when their proceedings were ſuddenly ſtopped by the breaking out of the plague at Weſtminſter, which occaſioned a prorogation. It is remarkable that one Temſe ventured this ſeſſion to move that the houſe ſhould addreſs the king to take back the queen, and ſtop the proſecution of his divorce. This motion made the king ſend for Audley the ſpeaker, and explain to him the ſcruples with which his conſcience had long been burdened; ſcruples, he ſaid, which had proceeded from no wanton appetite, which had ariſen after the fervours of youth were paſt, and which were confirmed by the concurring ſentiments of all the learned ſocieties in Europe. Except in Spain and Portugal, he added, it was never heard of that any man had eſpouſed two ſiſters; but he himſelf had the misfortune, he believed, to be the firſt Chriſtian man that had ever married his brother's widow.[i]

After the prorogation ſir Thomas More the chancellor, foreſeeing that all the meaſures of the king and parliament led to a breach with the church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, deſired leave to reſign the great ſeal; and he deſcended from this high ſtation with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The auſterity of this man's virtue, and the ſanctity of his manners, had nowiſe encroached on the gentleneſs of his temper, or even diminiſhed that frolic and gaiety to

which he was naturally inclined. He ſported with all the varieties of fortune into which he was thrown; and neither the pride naturally attending a high ſtation, nor the melancholy incident to poverty and retreat, could ever lay hold of his ſerene and equal ſpirit. While his family diſcovered ſymptoms of ſorrow on laying down the grandeur and magnificence to which they had been accuſtomed, he drew a ſubject of mirth from their diſtreſſes; and made them aſhamed of loſing even a moment's cheerfulneſs on account of ſuch trivial misfortunes. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, received his reſignation with ſome difficulty; and he delivered the great ſeal ſoon after to ſir Thomas Audley.

During theſe tranſactions in England, and theſe invaſions of the papal and eccleſiaſtical authority, the court of Rome was not without ſolicitude; and ſhe entertained juſt apprehenſions of loſing entirely her authority in England; the kingdom which of all others had long been the moſt devoted to the holy ſee, and which had yielded it the moſt ample revenue. While the Imperial cardinals puſhed Clement to proceed to extremities againſt the king, his more moderate and impartial counſellors repreſented to him the indignity of his proceedings; that a great monarch, who had ſignalized himſelf both by his pen and his ſword in the cauſe of the pope, ſhould be denied a favour which he demanded on ſuch juſt grounds, and which had ſcarcely ever before been refuſed to any perſon of his rank and ſtation. Notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances, the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and ſeveral conſiſtories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry was determined not to ſend any proxy to plead his cauſe before this court; he only diſpatched ſir Edward Karne and Dr. Bonner, in quality of excuſators, ſo they were called, to carry his apology for not paying that deference to the papal autho-

rity. The prerogatives of his crown, he ſaid, muſt be ſacrificed if he allowed appeals from his own kingdom; and, as the queſtion regarded conſcience, not power or intereſt, no proxy could ſupply his place, or convey that ſatisfaction which the dictates of his own mind alone could confer. In order to ſupport himſelf in this meaſure, and add greater ſecurity to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his perſonal friendſhip as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all meaſures for their mutual defence. He even employed arguments, by which he believed he had perſuaded Francis to imitate his example in withdrawing his obedience from the biſhop of Rome, and adminiſtering eccleſiaſtical affairs without having farther recourſe to that ſee. And, being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as reſolute to ſtand all conſequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previouſly created marchioneſs of Pembroke. Rouland Lee, ſoon after raiſed to the biſhopric of Coventry, officiated at the marriage. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to the new queen, her father, mother, and brother, together with Dr. Cranmer, were preſent at the ceremony.[k] Anne became pregnant ſoon after her marriage; and this event both gave great ſatisfaction to the king, and was regarded by the people as a ſtrong proof of the queen's former modeſty and virtue.

A PARLIAMENT. 1533.

THE parliament was again aſſembled; and Henry, in conjunction with the great council of the nation, proceeded ſtill in thoſe gradual and ſecure ſteps by which they looſened their connexions with the ſee of Rome, and repreſſed the uſurpations of the Roman pontiff. An act was made againſt all appeals to

Rome in cauſes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other ſuits cognizable in eccleſiaſtical courts; appeals eſteemed diſhonourable to the kingdom by ſubjecting it to a foreign juriſdiction, and found to be very vexatious by the expenſe and the delay of juſtice which neceſſarily attended them.[l] The more to ſhew his diſregard to the pope, Henry, finding the new queen's pregnancy to advance, publicly owned his marriage; and, in order to remove all doubts with regard to its lawfulneſs, he prepared meaſures for declaring, by a formal ſentence, the invalidity of his marriage with Catherine; a ſentence which ought naturally to have preceded his eſpouſing of Anne.[m]

The king, even amidſt his ſcruples and remorſes on account of his firſt marriage, had always treated Catherine with reſpect and diſtinction; and he endeavoured, by every ſoft and perſuaſive art, to engage her to depart from her appeal to Rome, and her oppoſition to his divorce. Finding her obſtinate in maintaining the juſtice of her cauſe, he had totally forborn all viſits and intercourſe with her; and had deſired her to make choice of any one of his palaces in which ſhe ſhould pleaſe to reſide. She had fixed her abode for ſome time at Ampthill, near Dunſtable; and it was in this latter town that Cranmer, now created archbiſhop of Canterbury on the death of Warham,[n] was appointed to open his court for examining the validity of her marriage. The near neighbourhood of the place was choſen in order to deprive her of all plea of ignorance; and, as ſhe made no anſwer to the citation, either by herſelf or proxy, ſhe was declared contumacious; and the primate proceeded to the examination of the cauſe. The evidences of Arthur's conſummation of his marriage were anew produced; the opinions of the univerſities were read, together with the judgment pronounced two years before by the convocations both of Canterbury and York; and, after theſe preliminary ſteps, Cranmer proceeded to a ſentence,

and annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid. By a ſubſequent ſentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who ſoon after was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity ſuited to that ceremony.[o] To complete the king's ſatisfaction on the concluſion of this intricate and vexatious affair, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterwards ſwayed the ſceptre with ſuch renown and felicity. Henry was ſo much delighted with the birth of this child, that ſoon after he conferred on her the title of princeſs of Wales;[p] a ſtep ſomewhat irregular, as ſhe could only be preſumptive, not apparent, heir of the crown. But he had, during his former marriage, thought proper to honour his daughter Mary with that title; and he was determined to beſtow on the offspring of his preſent marriage the ſame mark of diſtinction, as well as to exclude the elder princeſs from all hopes of the ſucceſſion. His regard for the new queen ſeemed rather to increaſe than diminiſh by his marriage; and all men expected to ſee the entire aſcendant of one who had mounted a throne, from which her birth had ſet her at ſo great a diſtance, and who by a proper mixture of ſeverity and indulgence had long managed ſo intractable a ſpirit as that of Henry. In order to efface as much as poſſible all marks of his firſt marriage, lord Mountjoy was ſent to the unfortunate and divorced queen, to inform her that ſhe was thenceforth to be treated only as princeſs dowager of Wales; and all means were employed to make her acquieſce in that determination. But ſhe continued obſtinate in maintaining the validity of her marriage; and ſhe would admit no perſon to her preſence who did not approach her with the accuſtomed ceremonial. Henry, forgetting his wonted generoſity towards her, employed menaces againſt ſuch of her ſervants as complied with her commands in this particular; but was never able to make her relinquiſh her title and pretenſions.[q]

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of theſe tranſactions, ſo injurious to the authority and reputation of the holy ſee, the conclave was in a rage, and all the cardinals of the Imperial faction urged the pope to proceed to a definitive ſentence, and to dart his ſpiritual thunders againſt Henry. But Clement proceeded no farther than to declare the nullity of Cranmer's ſentence, as well as that of Henry's ſecond marriage; threatening him with excommunication if before the firſt of November enſuing he did not replace every thing in the condition in which it formerly ſtood.[r] An event had happened, from which the pontiff expected a more amicable concluſion of the difference, and which hindered him from carrying matters to extremity againſt the king.

The pope had claims upon the duchy of Ferrara for the ſovereignty of Reggio and Modena;[s] and, having ſubmitted his pretenſions to the arbitration of the emperor, he was ſurpriſed to find a ſentence pronounced againſt him. Enraged at this diſappointment, he hearkened to propoſals of amity from Francis; and, when that monarch made overtures of marrying the duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, to Catherine of Medicis, niece of the pope, Clement gladly embraced an alliance by which his family was ſo much honoured. An interview was even appointed between the pope and French king at Marſeilles; and Francis, as a common friend, there employed his good offices in mediating an accommodation between his new ally and the king of England.

Had this connexion of France with the court of Rome taken place a few years ſooner, there had been little difficulty in adjuſting the quarrel with Henry. The king's requeſt was an ordinary one; and the ſame plenary power of the pope, which had granted a diſpenſation for his eſpouſing of Catherine, could eaſily have annulled the marriage. But in the progreſs of the quarrel the ſtate of affairs was much changed on both ſides. Henry had

ſhaken off much of that reverence which he had early imbibed for the apoſtolic ſee; and, finding that his ſubjects of all ranks had taken part with him, and willingly complied with his meaſures for breaking off foreign dependance, he had begun to reliſh his ſpiritual authority, and would ſcarcely, it was apprehended, be induced to renew his ſubmiſſions to the Roman pontiff. The pope, on the other hand, now ran a manifeſt riſque of infringing his authority by a compliance with the king; and, as a ſentence of divorce could no longer be reſted on nullities in Julius's bull, but would be conſtrued as an acknowledgment of papal uſurpations, it was foreſeen that the Lutherans would thence take occaſion of triumph, and would perſevere more obſtinately in their preſent principles. But, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, Francis did not deſpair of mediating an agreement. He obſerved that the king had ſtill ſome remains of prejudice in favour of the catholic church, and was apprehenſive of the conſequences which might enſue from too violent innovations. He ſaw the intereſt that Clement had in preſerving the obedience of England, which was one of the richeſt jewels in the papal crown. And he hoped that theſe motives on both ſides would facilitate a mutual agreement, and would forward the effects of his good offices.

KING'S FINAL BREACH WITH ROME. 1534.

Francis firſt prevailed on the pope to promiſe that, if the king would ſend a proxy to Rome, and thereby ſubmit his cauſe to the holy ſee, he ſhould appoint commiſſioners to meet at Cambray, and form the proceſs; and he ſhould immediately afterwards pronounce the ſentence of divorce required of him. Bellay, biſhop of Paris, was next diſpatched to London, and obtained a promiſe from the king, that he would ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were

excluded from it. The prelate carried this verbal promiſe to Rome; and the pope agreed that, if the king would ſign a written agreement to the ſame purpoſe, his demands ſhould be fully complied with. A day was appointed for the return of the meſſengers; and all Europe regarded this affair, which had threatened a violent rupture between England and the Romiſh church, as drawing towards an amicable concluſion.[t] But the greateſt affairs often depend on the moſt frivolous incidents. The courier who carried the king's written promiſe was detained beyond the day appointed: news was brought to Rome that a libel had been publiſhed in England againſt the court of Rome, and a farce acted before the king in deriſion of the pope and cardinals.[u] The pope and cardinals entered into the conſiſtory inflamed with anger; and, by a precipitate ſentence, the marriage of Henry and Catherine was pronounced valid, and Henry declared to be excommunicated if he refuſed to adhere to it. Two days after the courier arrived; and Clement, who had been hurried from his uſual prudence, found that, though he heartily repented of this haſty meaſure, it would be difficult for him to retract it, or replace affairs on the ſame footing as before.

A PARLIAMENT.

It is not probable that the pope, had he conducted himſelf with ever ſo great moderation and temper, could hope, during the lifetime of Henry, to have regained much authority or influence in England. That monarch was of a temper both impetuous and obſtinate; and, having proceeded ſo far in throwing off the papal yoke, he never could again have been brought tamely to bend his neck to it. Even at the time when he was negociating a reconciliation with Rome, he either entertained ſo little hopes of ſucceſs, or was ſo indifferent about the event, that he had

aſſembled a parliament, and continued to enact laws totally deſtructive of the papal authority. The people had been prepared by degrees for this great innovation. Each preceding ſeſſion had retrenched ſomewhat from the power and profits of the pontiff. Care had been taken, during ſome years, to teach the nation that a general council was much ſuperior to a pope. But now a biſhop preached every Sunday at Paul's croſs, in order to inculcate the doctrine that the pope was entitled to no authority at all beyond the bounds of his own dioceſe.[x] The proceedings of the parliament ſhewed that they had entirely adopted this opinion; and there is reaſon to believe that the king, after having procured a favourable ſentence from Rome, which would have removed all doubts with regard to his ſecond marriage and the ſucceſſion, might indeed have lived on terms of civility with the Roman pontiff, but never would have ſurrendered to him any conſiderable ſhare of his aſſumed prerogative. The importance of the laws paſſed this ſeſſion, even before intelligence arrived of the violent reſolutions taken at Rome, is ſufficient to juſtify this opinion.

All payments made to the apoſtolic chamber, all proviſions, bulls, diſpenſations, were aboliſhed; monaſteries were ſubjected to the viſitation and government of the king alone; the law for puniſhing heretics was moderated; the ordinary was prohibited from impriſoning or trying any perſon upon ſuſpicion alone, without preſentment by two lawful witneſſes; and it was declared that to ſpeak againſt the pope's authority was no hereſy: biſhops were to be appointed by a conge d'elire from the crown; or, in caſe of the dean and chapter's refuſal, by letters patent; and no recourſe was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or proviſions: Campeggio and Ghinucci, two Italians, were deprived of the biſhoprics of Saliſbury and Worceſter, which they had hitherto enjoyed:[y] the law which had been formerly made againſt

paying annates or firſt fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to ſuſpend or enforce, was finally eſtabliſhed: and a ſubmiſſion which was exacted two years before from the clergy, and which had been obtained with great difficulty, received this ſeſſion the ſanction of parliament.[s] In this ſubmiſſion the clergy acknowledged that convocations ought to be aſſembled by the king's authority only; they promiſe to enact no new canons without his conſent; and they agree that he ſhould appoint thirty-two commiſſioners, in order to examine the old canons, and abrogate ſuch as ſhould be found prejudicial to his royal prerogative.[s] An appeal was alſo allowed from the biſhop's court to the king in chancery.

But the moſt important law paſſed this ſeſſion was that which regulated the ſucceſſion to the crown: the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared unlawful, void, and of no effect; the primate's ſentence annulling it was ratified; and the marriage with queen Anne was eſtabliſhed and confirmed. The crown was appointed to deſcend to the iſſue of this marriage, and, failing them, to the king's heirs for ever. An oath likewiſe was enjoined to be taken in favour of this order of ſucceſſion, under the penalty of impriſonment during the king's pleaſure, and forfeiture of goods and chattels. And all ſlander againſt the king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the penalty of miſpriſion of treaſon. After theſe compliances the parliament was prorogued; and thoſe acts, ſo contemptuous towards the pope, and ſo deſtructive of his authority, were paſſed at the very time that Clement pronounced his haſty ſentence againſt the king. Henry's reſentment againſt queen Catherine, on account of her obſtinacy, was the reaſon why he excluded her daughter from all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown; contrary to his firſt intentions when he began the proceſs of divorce, and of diſpenſation for a ſecond marriage.

The king found his eccleſiaſtical ſubjects as compliant as the laity. The convocation ordered that the act againſt appeals to Rome, together with the king's appeal from the pope to a general council, ſhould be affixed to the doors of all the churches in the kingdom: and they voted that the biſhop of Rome had, by the law of God, no more juriſdiction in England than any other foreign biſhop; and that the authority which he and his predeceſſors had there exerciſed was only by uſurpation, and by the ſufferance of Engliſh princes. Four perſons alone oppoſed this vote in the lower houſe, and one doubted. It paſſed unanimouſly in the upper. The biſhops went ſo far in their complaiſance, that they took out new commiſſions from the crown, in which all their ſpiritual and epiſcopal authority was expreſsly affirmed to be derived ultimately from the civil magiſtrate, and to be entirely dependent on his good pleaſure.[b]

The oath regarding the ſucceſſion was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, were the only perſons of note that entertained ſcruples with regard to its legality. Fiſher was obnoxious on account of ſome practices into which his credulity, rather than any bad intentions, ſeems to have betrayed him. But More was the perſon of greateſt reputation in the kingdom for virtue and integrity; and, as it was believed that his authority would have influence on the ſentiments of others, great pains were taken to convince him of the lawfulneſs of the oath. He declared that he had no ſcruple with regard to the ſucceſſion, and thought that the parliament had full power to ſettle it: he offered to draw an oath himſelf, which would enſure his allegiance to the heir appointed; but he refuſed the oath preſcribed by law, becauſe the preamble of that oath aſſerted the legality of the king's marriage with Anne, and thereby implied that his former marriage with Catherine was unlawful and invalid. Cranmer the primate, and Cromwell, now

ſecretary of ſtate, who highly loved and eſteemed More, entreated him to lay aſide his ſcruples; and their friendly importunity ſeemed to weigh more with him than all the penalties attending his refuſal.[c] He perſiſted, however, in a mild though firm manner to maintain his reſolution; and the king, irritated againſt him as well as Fiſher, ordered both to be indicted upon the ſtatute, and committed priſoners to the tower.

The parliament being again aſſembled, conferred on the king the title of the only ſupreme head on earth of the church of England; as they had already inveſted him with all the real power belonging to it. In this memorable act the parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, 'to viſit, and repreſs, redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, or amend, all errors, hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, and enormities, which fell under any ſpiritual authority[d] or juriſdiction.' They alſo declared it treaſon to attempt, imagine, or ſpeak, evil againſt the king, queen, or his heirs, or to endeavour depriving them of their dignities or titles. They gave him a right to all the annates and tithes of benefices, which had formerly been paid to the court of Rome. They granted him a ſubſidy and a fifteenth. They attainted More and Fiſher for miſpriſion of treaſon. And they completed the union of England and Wales, by giving to that principality all the benefit of the Engliſh laws.

Thus the authority of the popes, like all exorbitant power, was ruined by the exceſs of its acquiſitions, and by ſtretching its pretenſions beyond what it was poſſible for any human principles or prepoſſeſſions to ſuſtain. Indulgences had in former ages tended extremely to enrich the holy ſee; but, being openly abuſed, they ſerved to excite the firſt commotions and oppoſition in Germany. The prerogative of granting diſpenſations had alſo contributed much to attach all the ſovereign princes and great families in Europe to the papal authority; but, meeting with an

unlucky concurrence of circumſtances, was now the cauſe why England ſeparated herſelf from the Romiſh communion. The acknowledgment of the king's ſupremacy introduced there a greater ſimplicity in the government, by uniting the ſpiritual with the civil power, and preventing diſputes about limits, which never could exactly be determined, between the contending juriſdictions. A way was alſo prepared for checking the exorbitances of ſuperſtition, and breaking thoſe ſhackles by which all human reaſon, policy, and induſtry, had ſo long been encumbered. The prince, it may be ſuppoſed, being head of the religion as well as of the temporal juriſdiction of the kingdom, though he might ſometimes employ the former as an engine of government, had no intereſt, like the Roman pontiff, in nouriſhing its exceſſive growth; and, except when blinded by his own ignorance or bigotry, would be ſure to retain it within tolerable limits, and prevent its abuſes. And, on the whole, there followed from this revolution many beneficial conſequences, though perhaps neither foreſeen nor intended by the perſons who had the chief hand in conducting it.

While Henry proceeded with ſo much order and tranquillity in changing the national religion, and while his authority ſeemed entirely ſecure in England, he was held in ſome inquietude by the ſtate of affairs in Ireland and in Scotland.

The earl of Kildare was deputy of Ireland under the duke of Richmond, the king's natural ſon, who bore the title of lieutenant; and, as Kildare was accuſed of ſome violences againſt the family of Oſſory, his hereditary enemies, he was ſummoned to anſwer for his conduct. He left his authority in the hands of his ſon; who, hearing that his father was thrown into priſon, and was in danger of his life, immediately took up arms, and, joining himſelf to Oneale, Ocarrol, and other Iriſh nobility, committed many ravages, murdered Allen archbiſhop of Dublin, and

laid ſiege to that city. Kildare meanwhile died in priſon; and his ſon, perſevering in his revolt, made applications to the emperor, who promiſed him aſſiſtance. The king was obliged to ſend over ſome forces to Ireland, which ſo haraſſed the rebels that this young nobleman, finding the emperor backward in fulfilling his promiſes, was reduced to the neceſſity of ſurrendering himſelf priſoner to lord Leonard Gray, the new deputy, brother to the marquis of Dorſet. He was carried over to England, together with his five uncles; and, after trial and conviction, they were all brought to public juſtice, though two of the uncles, in order to ſave the family, had pretended to join the king's party.

The earl of Angus had acquired the entire aſcendant in Scotland; and, having gotten poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, then in early youth, he was able, by means of that advantage, and by employing the power of his own family, to retain the reins of government. The queen dowager, however, his conſort, bred him great diſturbance; for, having ſeparated herſelf from him on account of ſome jealouſies and diſguſts, and having procured a divorce, ſhe had married another man of quality, of the name of Stuart; and ſhe joined all the diſcontented nobility who oppoſed Angus's authority. James himſelf was diſſatisfied with the ſlavery to which he was reduced; and, by ſecret correſpondence, he incited firſt Walter Scot, then the earl of Lenox, to attempt by force of arms the freeing him from the hands of Angus. Both enterpriſes failed of ſucceſs; but James, impatient of reſtraint, found means at laſt of eſcaping to Stirling, where his mother then reſided; and, having ſummoned all the nobility to attend him, he overturned the authority of the Douglaſſes, and obliged Angus and his brother to fly into England, where they were protected by Henry. The king of Scotland, being now arrived at years of majority, took the government into his own hands;

and employed himſelf with great ſpirit and valour in repreſſing thoſe feuds, ravages, and diſorders, which, though they diſturbed the courſe of public juſtice, ſerved to ſupport the martial ſpirit of the Scots, and contributed by that means to maintain national independency. He was deſirous of renewing the ancient league with the French nation; but, finding Francis in cloſe union with England, and on that account ſomewhat cold in hearkening to his propoſals, he received the more favourably the advances of the emperor, who hoped by means of ſuch an ally to breed diſturbance to England. He offered the Scottiſh king the choice of three princeſſes, his own near relations, and all of the name of Mary; his ſiſter the dowager of Hungary, his niece a daughter of Portugal, or his couſin the daughter of Henry, whom he pretended to diſpoſe of unknown to her father. James was more inclined to the latter propoſal, had it not upon reflection been found impracticable; and his natural propenſity to France at laſt prevailed over all other conſiderations. The alliance with Francis neceſſarily engaged James to maintain peace with England. But, though invited by his uncle Henry to confer with him at Newcaſtle, and concert common meaſures for repreſſing the eccleſiaſtics in both kingdoms, and ſhaking off the yoke of Rome, he could not be prevailed on, by entering England, to put himſelf in the king's power. In order to have a pretext for refuſing the conference, he applied to the pope, and obtained a brief, forbidding him to engage in any perſonal negociations with an enemy of the holy ſee. From theſe meaſures Henry eaſily concluded that he could very little depend on the friendſhip of his nephew. But thoſe events took not place till ſome time after our preſent period.

CHAPTER XXXI.

HENRY VIII.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE....OF THE KING....OF THE MINISTERS....FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION....SIR THOMAS MORE....THE MAID OF KENT....TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF FISHER BISHOP OF ROCHESTER....OF SIR THOMAS MORE.... THE KING EXCOMMUNICATED....DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE ....A PARLIAMENT....SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES....A CONVOCATION....TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE....DISGRACE OF QUEEN ANNE....HER TRIAL....AND EXECUTION....A PARLIAMENT....A CONVOCATION....DISCONTENTS AMONG THE PEOPLE....INSURRECTION....BIRTH OF PRINCE EDWARD, AND DEATH OF QUEEN JANE....SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES....CARDINAL POLE.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE PEOPLE. 1534.

THE ancient, and almoſt uninterrupted, oppoſition of intereſts between the laity and clergy in England, and between the Engliſh clergy and the court of Rome, had ſufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the ſovereign pontiff; and men had penetration enough to diſcover abuſes, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found deſtructive of their own. Theſe ſubjects ſeemed pro-

portioned to human underſtanding; and even the people, who felt the power of intereſt in their own breaſt, could perceive the purpoſe of thoſe numerous inventions which the intereſted ſpirit of the Roman pontiff had introduced into religion. But, when the reformers proceeded thence to diſpute concerning the nature of the ſacraments, the operations of grace, the terms of acceptance with the Deity, men were thrown into amazement, and were during ſome time at a loſs how to chooſe their party. The profound ignorance in which both the clergy and laity formerly lived, and their freedom from theological altercations, had produced a ſincere but indolent acquieſcence in received opinions; and the multitude were neither attached to them by topics of reaſoning, nor by thoſe prejudices and antipathies againſt opponents which have ever a more natural and powerful influence over them. As ſoon, therefore, as a new opinion was advanced, ſupported by ſuch an authority as to call up their attention, they felt their capacity totally unfitted for ſuch diſquiſitions; and they perpetually fluctuated between the contending parties. Hence the quick and violent movements by which the people were agitated, even in the moſt oppoſite directions; hence their ſeeming proſtitution in ſacrificing to preſent power the moſt ſacred principles; and hence the rapid progreſs during ſome time, and the ſudden as well as entire check ſoon after, of the new doctrines. When men were once ſettled in their particular ſects, and had fortified themſelves in an habitual deteſtation of thoſe who were denominated heretics, they adhered with more obſtinacy to the principles of their education; and the limits of the two religions thenceforth remained fixed and unchangeable.

Nothing more forwarded the firſt progreſs of the reformers than the offer which they made of ſubmitting all religious doctrines to private judgment, and the ſummons given every one

to examine the principles formerly impoſed upon him. Though the multitude were totally unqualified for this undertaking, they yet were highly pleaſed with it. They fancied that they were exerciſing their judgment, while they oppoſed to the prejudices of ancient authority more powerful prejudices of another kind. The novelty itſelf of the doctrines; the pleaſure of an imaginary triumph in diſpute; the fervent zeal of the reformed preachers; their patience, and even alacrity, in ſuffering perſecution, death, and torments; a diſguſt at the reſtraints of the old religion; an indignation againſt the tyranny and intereſted ſpirit of the eccleſiaſtics; theſe motives were prevalent with the people, and by ſuch conſiderations were men ſo generally induced, during that age, to throw off the religion of their anceſtors.

But, in proportion as the practice of ſubmitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared in ſome reſpects dangerous to the rights of ſovereigns, and ſeemed to deſtroy that implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magiſtrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of ſhaking ſo ancient and deep founded an eſtabliſhment as that of the Romiſh hierarchy might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican ſpirit, which naturally took place among the reformers, increaſed this jealouſy. The furious inſurrections of the populace, excited by Munœer and other anabaptiſts in Germany,[e] furniſhed a new pretence for decrying the reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, becauſe proteſtants in our time prove as dutiful ſubjects as thoſe of any other communion, that therefore ſuch apprehenſions were altogether without any ſhadow of plauſibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the diſciples of the reformation, it is not in reality accepted of; and men are generally contented to acquieſce implicitly in thoſe eſtabliſhments, however new, into which their early education has thrown them.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE KING.

No prince in Europe was poſſeſſed of ſuch abſolute authority as Henry, not even the pope himſelf, in his own capital, where he united both the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers;[r] and there was ſmall likelihood that any doctrine which lay under the imputation of encouraging ſedition could ever pretend to his favour and countenance. But, beſides this political jealouſy, there was another reaſon which inſpired this imperious monarch with an averſion to the reformers. He had early declared his ſentiments againſt Luther; and, having entered the liſts in thoſe ſcholaſtic quarrels, he had received from his courtiers and theologians infinite applauſe for his performance. Elated by this imaginary ſucceſs, and blinded by a natural arrogance and obſtinacy of temper, he had entertained the moſt lofty opinion of his own erudition; and he received with impatience, mixed with contempt, any contradiction to his ſentiments. Luther alſo had been ſo imprudent as to treat in a very indecent manner his royal antagoniſt; and, though he afterwards made the moſt humble ſubmiſſions to Henry, and apologized for the vehemence of his former expreſſions, he never could efface the hatred which the king had conceived againſt him and his doctrines. The idea of hereſy ſtill appeared deteſtable as well as formidable to that prince; and, whilſt his reſentment againſt the ſee of Rome had corrected one conſiderable part of his early prejudices, he had made it a point of honour never to relinquiſh the remainder. Separate as he ſtood from the catholic church, and from the Roman pontiff, the head of it, he ſtill valued himſelf on maintaining the catholic doctrine, and on guarding by fire and ſword the imagined purity of his ſpeculative principles.

RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES OF THE MINISTERS.

HENRY's miniſters and courtiers were of as motley a character as his conduct; and ſeemed to waver, during this whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by intereſt as well as inclination, favoured the cauſe of the reformers. Cromwell, who was created ſecretary of ſtate, and who was daily advancing in the king's confidence, had embraced the ſame views; and, as he was a man of prudence and abilities, he was able, very effectually, though in a covert manner, to promote the late innovations. Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, had ſecretly adopted the proteſtant tenets; and he had gained Henry's friendſhip by his candour and ſincerity; virtues which he poſſeſſed in as eminent a degree as thoſe times, equally diſtracted with faction and oppreſſed by tyranny, could eaſily permit. On the other hand, the duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council. Gardiner, lately created biſhop of Wincheſter, had inliſted himſelf in the ſame party; and the ſuppleneſs of his character, and dexterity of his conduct, had rendered him extremely uſeful to it.

All theſe miniſters, while they ſtood in the moſt irreconcilable oppoſition of principles to each other, were obliged to diſguiſe their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the ſentiments of their maſter. Cromwell and Cranmer ſtill carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient ſpeculative tenets; but they artfully made uſe of Henry's reſentment to widen the breach with the ſee of Rome. Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an aſſent to the king's ſupremacy, and to his renunciation of the ſovereign pontiff; but they encouraged his paſſion

for the catholic faith, and inſtigated him to puniſh thoſe daring heretics who had preſumed to reject his theological principles. Both ſides hoped, by their unlimited compliance, to bring him over to their party. The king, meanwhile, who held the balance between the factions, was enabled, by the courtſhip paid him both by proteſtants and catholics, to aſſume an unbounded authority; and, though in all his meaſures he was really driven by his ungoverned humour, he caſually ſteered a courſe which led more certainly to arbitrary power than any which the moſt profound politics could have traced out to him. Artifice, refinement, and hypocriſy, in his ſituation, would have put both parties on their guard againſt him, and would have taught them reſerve in complying with a monarch whom they could never hope thoroughly to have gained: but, while the frankneſs, ſincerity, and openneſs, of Henry's temper were generally known, as well as the dominion of his furious paſſions, each ſide dreaded to loſe him by the ſmalleſt oppoſition, and flattered themſelves that a blind compliance with his will would throw him cordially and fully into their intereſts.

FARTHER PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, ſerved in the main to encourage the proteſtant doctrine among his ſubjects, and promoted that ſpirit of innovation with which the age was generally ſeized, and which nothing but an entire uniformity, as well as a ſteady ſeverity, in the adminiſtration could be able to repreſs. There were ſome Engliſhmen, Tindal, Joye, Conſtantine, and others, who, dreading the exertion of the king's authority,[g] had fled to Antwerp, where the great privileges poſſeſſed by the Low Country provinces ſerved, during ſome time, to give them protection. Theſe

men employed themſelves in writing Engliſh books againſt the corruptions of the church of Rome; againſt images, reliques, pilgrimages: and they excited the curioſity of men with regard to that queſtion, the moſt important in theology, the terms of acceptance with the Supreme Being. In conformity to the Lutherans, and other proteſtants, they aſſerted that ſalvation was obtained by faith alone; and that the moſt infallible road to perdition [h] was a reliance on good works; by which terms they underſtood as well the moral duties as the ceremonial and monaſtic obſervances. The defenders of the ancient religion, on the other hand, maintained the efficacy of good works; but, though they did not exclude from this appellation the ſocial virtues, it was ſtill the ſuperſtitions gainful to the church which they chiefly extolled and recommended. The books compoſed by theſe fugitives, having ſtolen over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a tranſlation of the ſcriptures by Tindal that was eſteemed the moſt dangerous to the eſtabliſhed faith. The firſt edition of this work, compoſed with little accuracy, was found liable to conſiderable objections; and Tindal, who was poor, and could not afford to loſe a great part of the impreſſion, was longing for an opportunity of correcting his errors, of which he had been made ſenſible. Tonſtal, then biſhop of London, ſoon after of Durham, a man of great moderation, being deſirous to diſcourage in the gentleſt manner theſe innovations, gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp; and he burned them publicly in Cheapſide. By this meaſure he ſupplied Tindal with money, enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work, and gave great ſcandal to the people in thus committing to the flames the word of God.[i]

SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE diſciples of the reformation met with little ſeverity during the miniſtry of Wolſey, who, though himſelf a clergyman, bore too ſmall a regard to the eccleſiaſtical order to ſerve as an inſtrument of their tyranny: it was even an article of impeachment againſt him [k] that, by his connivance, he had encouraged the growth of hereſy, and that he had protected and acquitted ſome notorious offenders. Sir Thomas More, who ſucceeded Wolſey as chancellor, is at once an object deſerving our compaſſion, and an inſtance of the uſual progreſs of men's ſentiments during that age. This man, whoſe elegant genius and familiar acquaintance with the noble ſpirit of antiquity had given him very enlarged ſentiments, and who had in his early years advanced principles which even at preſent would be deemed ſomewhat too free, had, in the courſe of events, been ſo irritated by polemics, and thrown into ſuch a ſuperſtitious attachment to the ancient faith, that few inquiſitors have been guilty of greater violence in their proſecution of hereſy. Though adorned with the gentleſt manners as well as the pureſt integrity, he carried to the utmoſt height his averſion to heterodoxy; and James Bainham, in particular, a gentleman of the temple, experienced from him the greateſt ſeverity. Bainham, accuſed of favouring the new opinions, was carried to More's houſe; and, having refuſed to diſcover his accomplices, the chancellor ordered him to be whipped in his preſence, and afterwards ſent him to the tower, where he himſelf ſaw him put to the torture. The unhappy gentleman, overcome by all theſe ſeverities, abjured his opinions; but, feeling afterwards the deepeſt compunction for his apoſtaſy, he openly returned to his former tenets, and even courted the crown of martyrdom. He was condemned

as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic, and was burned in Smithfield.[l]

Many were brought into the biſhops' courts for offences which appear trivial, but which were regarded as ſymbols of the party: ſome for teaching their children the Lord's prayer in Engliſh; others for reading the New Teſtament in that language, or for ſpeaking againſt pilgrimages. To harbour the perſecuted preachers, to neglect the faſts of the church, to declaim againſt the vices of the clergy, were capital offences. One Thomas Bilney, a prieſt, who had embraced the new doctrine, had been terrified into an abjuration; but was ſo haunted by remorſe that his friends dreaded ſome fatal effects of his deſpair. At laſt his mind ſeemed to be more relieved; but this appearing calm proceeded only from the reſolution which he had taken of expiating his paſt offence by an open confeſſion of the truth, and by dying a martyr to it. He went through Norfolk, teaching the people to beware of idolatry, and of truſting for their ſalvation either to pilgrimages, or to the cowl of St. Francis, to the prayers of the ſaints, or to images. He was ſoon ſeized, tried in the biſhops' court, and condemned as a relapſed heretic; and the writ was ſent down to burn him. When brought to the ſtake he diſcovered ſuch patience, fortitude, and devotion, that the ſpectators were much affected with the horrors of his puniſhment; and ſome mendicant friars who were preſent, fearing that his martyrdom would be imputed to them, and make them loſe thoſe alms which they received from the charity of the people, deſired him publicly to acquit them [m] of having any hand in his death. He willingly complied, and by this meekneſs gained the more on the ſympathy of the people. Another perſon, ſtill more heroic, being brought to the ſtake for denying the real preſence, ſeemed almoſt in a tranſport of joy; and he tenderly embraced the faggots, which were to be the inſtruments of his puniſh-

ment, as the means of procuring him eternal reſt. In ſhort, the tide turning towards the new doctrine, thoſe ſevere executions, which in another diſpoſition of men's minds would have ſufficed to ſuppreſs it, now ſerved only to diffuſe it the more among the people, and to inſpire them with horror againſt the unrelenting perſecutors.

But, though Henry neglected not to puniſh the proteſtant doctrine, which he deemed hereſy, his moſt formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependance on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain conſequence of aboliſhing his authority in England. Peyto, a friar, preaching before the king, had the aſſurance to tell him that 'many lying prophets had deceived him; but he, as a true Micajah, warned him that the dogs would lick his blood as they had done " Ahab's.' The king took no notice of the inſult, but allowed the preacher to depart in peace. Next Sunday he employed Dr. Corren to preach before him; who juſtified the king's proceedings, and gave Peyto the appellations of a rebel, a ſlanderer, a dog, and a traitor. Elſton, another friar of the ſame houſe, interrupted the preacher, and told him that he was one of the lying prophets, who ſought to eſtabliſh by adultery the ſucceſſion of the crown; but that he himſelf would juſtify all that Peyto had ſaid. Henry ſilenced the petulant friar; but ſhewed no other mark of reſentment than ordering Peyto and him to be ſummoned before the council, and to be rebuked for their offence.[o] He even here bore patiently ſome new inſtances of their obſtinacy and arrogance: when the earl of Eſſex, a privy counſellor, told them that they deſerved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames, Elſton replied that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land.[p]

THE IMPOSTURE OF THE HOLY MAID OF KENT.

Stephanoff. R. del.t

London, Published by R. Bowyer Historic Gallery, Pall Mall, June 1796

Taylor Junr. sculp.

THE MAID OF KENT.

BUT ſeveral monks were detected in a conſpiracy, which, as it might have proved more dangerous to the king, was on its diſcovery attended with more fatal conſequences to themſelves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington in Kent, commonly called 'the holy Maid of Kent,' had been ſubject to hyſterical fits, which threw her body into unuſual convulſions; and, having produced an equal diſorder in her mind, made her utter ſtrange ſayings, which, as ſhe was ſcarcely conſcious of them during the time, had ſoon after entirely eſcaped her memory. The ſilly people in the neighbourhood were ſtruck with theſe appearances, which they imagined to be ſupernatural; and Richard Maſters, vicar of the pariſh, a deſigning fellow, founded on them a project from which he hoped to acquire both profit and conſideration. He went to Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then alive; and, having given him an account of Elizabeth's revelations, he ſo far wrought on that prudent but ſuperſtitious prelate as to receive orders from him to watch her in her trances, and carefully to note down all her future ſayings. The regard paid her by a perſon of ſo high a rank ſoon rendered her ſtill more the object of attention to the neighbourhood; and it was eaſy for Maſters to perſuade them, as well as the maid herſelf, that her ravings were inſpirations of the Holy Ghoſt. Knavery, as is uſual, ſoon after ſucceeding to deluſion, ſhe learned to counterfeit trances; and ſhe then uttered, in an extraordinary tone, ſuch ſpeeches as were dictated to her by her ſpiritual director. Maſters aſſociated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury; and their deſign was to raiſe the credit of an image of the virgin, which ſtood in a chapel belonging to Maſters, and to draw to it ſuch pilgrimages as uſually frequented the more famous

images and reliques. In profecution of this deſign, Elizabeth pretended revelations, which directed her to have recourſe to that image for a cure; and, being brought before it, in the preſence of a great multitude, ſhe fell anew into convulſions; and, after diſtorting her limbs and countenance during a competent time, ſhe affected to have obtained a perfect recovery by the interceſſion of the virgin.[q] This miracle was ſoon bruited abroad; and the two prieſts, finding the impoſture to ſucceed beyond their own expectations, began to extend their views, and to lay the foundation of more important enterpriſes. They taught their penitent to declaim againſt the new doctrines, which ſhe denominated hereſy; againſt innovations in eccleſiaſtical government; and againſt the king's intended divorce from Catherine. She went ſo far as to aſſert that, if he profecuted that deſign and married another, he ſhould not be a king a month longer, and ſhould not an hour longer enjoy the favour of the Almighty, but ſhould die the death of a villain. Many monks throughout England, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into the deluſion; and one Deering, a friar, wrote a book of the revelations and prophecies of Elizabeth.[r] Miracles were daily added to increaſe the wonder; and the pulpit every where reſounded with accounts of the ſanctity and inſpirations of the new propheteſs. Meſſages were carried from her to queen Catherine, by which that princeſs was exhorted to perſiſt in her oppoſition to the divorce; the pope's ambaſſadors gave encouragement to the popular credulity; and even Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, though a man of ſenſe and learning, was carried away by an opinion ſo favourable to the party which he had eſpouſed.[s] The king at laſt began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and, having ordered Elizabeth and her accomplices to be arreſted, he brought them before the ſtar chamber, where they freely, without being put

to the torture, made confeſſion of their guilt. The parliament, in the ſeſſion held the beginning of this year, paſſed an act of attainder againſt ſome who were engaged in this treaſonable impoſture;[t] and Elizabeth herſelf, Maſters, Bocking, Deering, Rich, Riſby, Gold, ſuffered for their crime. The biſhop of Rocheſter, Abel, Addiſon, Lawrence, and others, were condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon, becauſe they had not diſcovered ſome criminal ſpeeches which they heard from Elizabeth;[u] and they were thrown into priſon. The better to undeceive the multitude, the forgery of many of the propheteſs's miracles was detected; and even the ſcandalous proſtitution of her manners was laid open to the public. Thoſe paſſions, which ſo naturally inſinuate themſelves amidſt the warm intimacies maintained by the devotees of different ſexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates; and it was found that a door to her dormitory, which was ſaid to have been miraculouſly opened, in order to give her acceſs to the chapel, for the ſake of frequent converſe with heaven, had been contrived by Bocking and Maſters for leſs refined purpoſes.

The detection of this impoſture, attended with ſo many odious circumſtances, both hurt the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, particularly the monks, and inſtigated the king to take vengeance on them. He ſuppreſſed three monaſteries of the Obſervantine friars; and, finding that little clamour was excited by this act of power, he was the more encouraged to lay his rapacious hands on the remainder. Meanwhile he exerciſed puniſhment on individuals who were obnoxious to him. The parliament had made it treaſon to endeavour depriving the king of his dignity or titles: they had lately added to his other titles that of 'ſupreme head of the church:' it was inferred that to deny his ſupremacy was treaſon; and many priors and eccleſiaſtics loſt their lives for this new ſpecies of guilt. It was certainly a high

inſtance of tyranny to puniſh the mere delivery of a political opinion, eſpecially one that nowiſe affected the king's temporal right, as a capital offence, though attended with no overt act; and the parliament in paſſing this law had overlooked all the principles by which a civilized, much more a free, people ſhould be governed. But the violence of changing ſo ſuddenly the whole ſyſtem of government, and making it treaſon to deny what during many ages it had been hereſy to aſſert, is an event which may appear ſomewhat extraordinary. Even the ſtern unrelenting mind of Henry was at firſt ſhocked with theſe ſanguinary meaſures; and he went ſo far as to change his garb and dreſs, pretending ſorrow for the neceſſity by which he was puſhed to ſuch extremities. Still impelled, however, by his violent temper, and deſirous of ſtriking a terror into the whole nation, he proceeded, by making examples of Fiſher and More, to conſummate his lawleſs tyranny.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF BISHOP FISHER. 1535.

John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, was a prelate eminent for learning and morals, ſtill more than for his eccleſiaſtical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long enjoyed with the king. When he was thrown into priſon on account of his refuſing the oath which regarded the ſucceſſion, and his concealment of Elizabeth Barton's treaſonable ſpeeches, he had not only been deprived of all his revenues, but ſtripped of his very clothes; and, without conſideration of his extreme age, he was allowed nothing but rags, which ſcarcely ſufficed to cover his nakedneſs.[x] In this condition he lay in priſon above a twelvemonth; when the pope, willing to recompenſe the ſufferings of ſo faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal; though Fiſher was ſo indifferent about that dignity that, even if the purple

were lying at his feet, he declared that he would not ſtoop to take it. This promotion of a man, merely for his oppoſition to royal authority, rouſed the indignation of the king; and he reſolved to make the innocent perſon feel the effects of his reſentment. Fiſher was indicted for denying the king's ſupremacy, was tried, condemned, and beheaded.

TRIAL, &c. OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

THE execution of this prelate was intended as a warning to More, whoſe compliance, on account of his great authority both abroad and at home, and his high reputation for learning and virtue, was anxiouſly deſired by the king. That prince alſo bore as great perſonal affection and regard to More as his imperious mind, the ſport of paſſions, was ſuſceptible of towards a man who in any particular oppoſed his violent inclinations. But More could never be prevailed on to acknowledge any opinion ſo contrary to his principles as that of the king's ſupremacy; and, though Henry exacted that compliance from the whole nation, there was as yet no law obliging any one to take an oath to that purpoſe. Rich, the ſolicitor general, was ſent to confer with More, then a priſoner, who kept a cautious ſilence with regard to the ſupremacy: he was only inveigled to ſay that any queſtion, with regard to the law which eſtabliſhed that prerogative, was a two-edged ſword: if a perſon anſwer one way, it will confound his ſoul; if another, it will deſtroy his body. No more was wanted to found an indictment of high treaſon againſt the priſoner. His ſilence was called malicious, and made a part of his crime; and theſe words, which had caſually dropped from him, were interpreted as a denial of the ſupremacy.[y] Trials were mere formalities during this reign: the jury gave ſentence againſt More, who had long expected this fate, and who needed

no preparation to fortify him againſt the terrors of death. Not only his conſtancy, but even his cheerfulneſs, nay his uſual facetiouſneſs, never forſook him; and he made a ſacrifice of his life to his integrity with the ſame indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the ſcaffold, he ſaid to one, 'Friend, help me up; and, when I come down again, let me ſhift for myſelf.' The executioner aſking him forgiveneſs, he granted the requeſt, but told him, 'You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is ſo ſhort.' Then, laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner ſtay till he put aſide his beard; 'for,' ſaid he, 'it never committed treaſon.' Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cauſe, more free from weakneſs and ſuperſtition. But, as the man followed his principles and ſenſe of duty, however miſguided, his conſtancy and integrity are not the leſs objects of our admiration. He was beheaded in the fifty-third year of his age.

THE KING EXCOMMUNICATED.

When the execution of Fiſher and More was reported at Rome, eſpecially that of the former, who was inveſted with the dignity of cardinal, every one diſcovered the moſt violent rage againſt the king; and numerous libels were publiſhed by the wits and orators of Italy, comparing him to Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and all the moſt unrelenting tyrants of antiquity. Clement VII had died about ſix months after he pronounced ſentence againſt the king; and Paul III, of the name of Farneſe, had ſucceeded to the papal throne. This pontiff, who while cardinal had always favoured Henry's cauſe, had hoped that, perſonal animoſities being buried with his predeceſſor, it might not be impoſſible to form an agreement with England: and the king himſelf was ſo

deſirous of accommodating matters that, in a negociation which he entered into with Francis a little before this time, he required that that monarch ſhould conciliate a friendſhip between him and the court of Rome. But Henry was accuſtomed to preſcribe, not to receive terms; and, even while he was negociating for peace, his uſual violence often carried him to commit offences which rendered the quarrel totally incurable. The execution of Fiſher was regarded by Paul as ſo capital an injury, that he immediately paſſed cenſures againſt the king, citing him and all his adherents to appear in Rome within ninety days, in order to anſwer for their crimes: if they failed, he excommunicated them; deprived the king of his crown; laid the kingdom under an interdict; declared his iſſue by Anne Boleyn illegitimate; diſſolved all leagues which any catholic princes had made with him; gave his kingdom to any invader; commanded the nobility to take arms againſt him; freed his ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance; cut off their commerce with foreign ſtates; and declared it lawful for any one to ſeize them, to make ſlaves of their perſons, and to convert their effects to his own uſe.[z] But, though theſe cenſures were paſſed, they were not at that time openly denounced: the pope delayed their publication till he ſhould find an agreement with England entirely deſperate; and till the emperor, who was at that time hard preſſed by the Turks and the proteſtant princes in Germany, ſhould be in a condition to carry the ſentence into execution.

The king knew that he might expect any injury which it ſhould be in Charles's power to inflict; and he therefore made it the chief object of his policy to incapacitate that monarch from wreaking his reſentment upon him.[a] He renewed his friendſhip with Francis, and opened negociations for marrying his infant daughter Elizabeth with the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. The two monarchs alſo made advances to the princes

of the proteſtant league in Germany, ever jealous of the emperor's ambition: and Henry, beſides remitting them ſome money, ſent Fox biſhop of Hereford, as Francis did Bellay lord of Langley, to treat with them. But, during the firſt fervours of the reformation, an agreement in theological tenets was held, as well as a union of intereſts, to be eſſential to a good correſpondence among ſtates; and, though both Francis and Henry flattered the German princes with hopes of their embracing the confeſſion of Augſburg, it was looked upon as a bad ſymptom of their ſincerity that they exerciſed ſuch extreme rigour againſt all preachers of the reformation [b] in their reſpective dominions. Henry carried the feint ſo far, that, while he thought himſelf the firſt theologian in the world, he yet invited over Melancthon, Bucer, Sturmius, Draco, and other German divines, that they might confer with him, and inſtruct him in the foundation of their tenets. Theſe theologians were now of great importance in the world; and no poet or philoſopher, even in ancient Greece, where they were treated with moſt reſpect, had ever reached equal applauſe and admiration with thoſe wretched compoſers of metaphyſical polemics. The German princes told the king that they could not ſpare their divines; and, as Henry had no hopes of agreement with ſuch zealous diſputants, and knew that in Germany the followers of Luther would not aſſociate with the diſciples of Zuinglius, becauſe, though they agreed in every thing elſe, they differed in ſome minute particulars with regard to the euchariſt, he was the more indifferent on account of this refuſal. He could alſo foreſee that, even while the league of Smalkalde did not act in concert with him, they would always be carried by their intereſts to oppoſe the emperor; and the hatred between Francis and that monarch was ſo inveterate, that he deemed himſelf ſure of a ſincere ally in one or other of theſe potentates.

DEATH OF QUEEN CATHERINE. 1536.

DURING theſe negociations an incident happened in England which promiſed a more amicable concluſion of thoſe diſputes, and ſeemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was ſeized with a lingering illneſs, which at laſt brought her to her grave: ſhe died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, on the ſixth of January, in the fiftieth year of her age. A little before ſhe expired ſhe wrote a very tender letter to the king, in which ſhe gave him the appellation of her 'moſt dear lord, king, and huſband.' She told him that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, ſhe laid hold of this laſt opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptineſs of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that, though his fondneſs towards theſe periſhable advantages had thrown her into many calamities, as well as created to himſelf much trouble, ſhe yet forgave him all paſt injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven; and that ſhe had no other requeſt to make than to recommend to him his daughter, the ſole pledge of their loves, and to crave his protection for her maids and ſervants. She concluded with theſe words, 'I make this vow,[c] that mine eyes deſire you above all things.' The king was touched, even to the ſhedding of tears, by this laſt tender proof of Catherine's affection; but queen Anne is ſaid to have expreſſed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit.[d]

The emperor thought that, as the demiſe of his aunt had removed all foundation of perſonal animoſity between him and Henry, it might not now be impoſſible to detach him from the alliance of France, and to renew his own confederacy with Eng-

land, from which he had formerly reaped ſo much advantage. He ſent Henry propoſals for a return to ancient amity upon theſe conditions;[e] that he ſhould be reconciled to the ſee of Rome; that he ſhould aſſiſt him in his war with the Turk; and that he ſhould take part with him againſt Francis, who now threatened the duchy of Milan. The king replied that he was willing to be on good terms with the emperor, provided that prince would acknowledge that the former breach of friendſhip came entirely from himſelf: as to the conditions propoſed; the proceedings againſt the biſhop of Rome were ſo juſt, and ſo fully ratified by the parliament of England, that they could not now be revoked; when Chriſtian princes ſhould have ſettled peace among themſelves, he would not fail to exert that vigour which became him againſt the enemies of the faith; and, after amity with the emperor was once fully reſtored, he ſhould then be in a ſituation, as a common friend both to him and Francis, either to mediate an agreement between them, or to aſſiſt the injured party.

What rendered Henry more indifferent to the advances made by the emperor was, both his experience of the uſual duplicity and inſincerity of that monarch, and the intelligence which he received of the preſent tranſactions in Europe. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, had died without iſſue; and the emperor maintained that the duchy, being a fief of the empire, was devolved to him as head of the Germanic body: not to give umbrage, however, to the ſtates of Italy, he profeſſed his intention of beſtowing that principality on ſome prince who ſhould be obnoxious to no party, and he even made offer of it to the duke of Angouleme, third ſon of Francis. The French monarch, who pretended that his own right to Milan was now revived upon Sforza's death, was content to ſubſtitute his ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, in his place; and the emperor pretended to cloſe

with this propoſal. But his ſole intention in that liberal conceſſion was to gain time, till he ſhould put himſelf in a warlike poſture, and be able to carry an invaſion into Francis's dominions. The ancient enmity between theſe princes broke out anew in bravadoes, and in perſonal inſults on each other, ill becoming perſons of their rank, and ſtill leſs ſuitable to men of ſuch unqueſtioned bravery. Charles ſoon after invaded Provence in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand men; but met with no ſucceſs. His army periſhed with ſickneſs, fatigue, famine, and other diſaſters; and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Marſeilles, and retire into Italy with the broken remains of his forces. An army of Imperialiſts, near thirty thouſand ſtrong, which invaded France on the ſide of the Netherlands, and laid ſiege to Peronne, made no greater progreſs, but retired upon the approach of a French army. And Henry had thus the ſatisfaction to find, both that his ally Francis was likely to ſupport himſelf without foreign aſſiſtance, and that his own tranquillity was fully enſured by theſe violent wars and animoſities on the continent.

If any inquietude remained with the Engliſh court, it was ſolely occaſioned by the ſtate of affairs in Scotland. James, hearing of the dangerous ſituation of his ally Francis, generouſly levied ſome forces; and, embarking them on board veſſels which he had hired for that purpoſe, landed them ſafely in France. He even went over in perſon; and, making haſte to join the camp of the French king, which then lay in Provence, and to partake of his danger, he met that prince at Lyons, who, having repulſed the emperor, was now returning to his capital. Recommended by ſo agreeable and ſeaſonable an inſtance of friendſhip, the king of Scots paid his addreſſes to Magdalen, daughter of the French monarch; and this prince had no other objection to the match than what aroſe from the infirm ſtate of his daugh-

ter's health, which ſeemed to threaten her with an approaching end. But, James having gained the affections of the princeſs, and obtained her conſent, the father would no longer oppoſe the united deſires of his daughter and his friend; they were accordingly married, and ſoon after ſet ſail for Scotland, where the young queen, as was foreſeen, died in a little time after her arrival. Francis, however, was afraid leſt his ally Henry, whom he likewiſe looked on as his friend, and who lived with him on a more cordial footing than is uſual among great princes, ſhould be diſpleaſed that this cloſe confederacy between France and Scotland was concluded without his participation. He therefore diſpatched Pommeraye to London, in order to apologize for this meaſure; but Henry, with his uſual openneſs and freedom, expreſſed ſuch diſpleaſure, that he refuſed even to confer with the ambaſſador; and Francis was apprehenſive of a rupture with a prince who regulated his meaſures more by humour and paſſion than by the rules of political prudence. But the king was ſo fettered by the oppoſition in which he was engaged againſt the pope and the emperor, that he purſued no farther this diſguſt againſt Francis; and in the end every thing remained in tranquillity, both on the ſide of France and of Scotland.

The domeſtic peace of England ſeemed to be expoſed to more hazard by the violent innovations in religion; and it may be affirmed that, in this dangerous conjuncture, nothing enſured public tranquillity ſo much as the deciſive authority acquired by the king, and his great aſcendant over all his ſubjects. Not only the devotion paid to the crown was profound during that age; the perſonal reſpect inſpired by Henry was conſiderable; and even the terrors with which he overawed every one were not attended with any conſiderable degree of hatred. His frankneſs, his ſincerity, his magnificence, his generoſity, were virtues which counterbalanced his violence, cruelty, and impetuoſity.

And the important rank which his vigour, more than his addreſs, acquired him in all foreign negociations, flattered the vanity of Engliſhmen, and made them the more willingly endure thoſe domeſtic hardſhips to which they were expoſed. The king, conſcious of his advantages, was now proceeding to the moſt dangerous exerciſe of his authority; and, after paving the way for that meaſure by ſeveral preparatory expedients, he was at laſt determined to ſuppreſs the monaſteries, and to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of their ample revenues.

The great increaſe of monaſteries, if matters be conſidered merely in a political light, will appear the radical inconvenience of the catholic religion; and every other diſadvantage attending that communion ſeems to have an inſeparable connexion with theſe religious inſtitutions. Papal uſurpations, the tyranny of the inquiſition, the multiplicity of holidays; all theſe fetters on liberty and induſtry were ultimately derived from the authority and inſinuation of monks, whoſe habitations, being eſtabliſhed every where, proved ſo many ſeminaries of ſuperſtition and of folly. This order of men was extremely enraged againſt Henry; and regarded the abolition of the papal authority in England as the removal of the ſole protection which they enjoyed againſt the rapacity of the crown and of the courtiers. They were now ſubjected to the king's viſitation; the ſuppoſed ſacredneſs of their bulls from Rome was rejected; the progreſs of the reformation abroad, which had every where been attended with the abolition of the monaſtic orders, gave them reaſon to apprehend like conſequences in England; and, though the king ſtill maintained the doctrine of purgatory, to which moſt of the convents owed their origin and ſupport, it was foreſeen that in the progreſs of the conteſt he would every day be led to depart wider from ancient inſtitutions, and be drawn nearer the tenets of the reformers, with whom his political intereſts naturally induced him

to unite. Moved by theſe conſiderations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people againſt the king's government; and Henry, finding their ſafety irreconcileable with his own, was determined to ſeize the preſent opportunity, and utterly deſtroy his declared enemies.

Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate, had been appointed vicar-general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's ſupremacy, or the abſolute uncontrollable power aſſumed over the church, was delegated to him. He employed Layton, London, Price, Gage, Petre, Bellaſis, and others, as commiſſioners, who carried on every where a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of all the friars. During times of faction, eſpecially of the religious kind, no equity is to be expected from adverſaries; and, as it was known that the king's intention in this viſitation was to find a pretence for aboliſhing monaſteries, we may naturally conclude that the reports of the commiſſioners are very little to be relied on. Friars were encouraged to bring in informations againſt their brethren; the ſlighteſt evidence was credited; and even the calumnies ſpread abroad by the friends of the reformation were regarded as grounds of proof. Monſtrous diſorders are therefore ſaid to have been found in many of the religious houſes: whole convents of women abandoned to lewdneſs: ſigns of abortions procured, of infants murdered, of unnatural luſts between perſons of the ſame ſex. It is indeed probable that the blind ſubmiſſion of the people during thoſe ages would render the friars and nuns more unguarded, and more diſſolute, than they are in any Roman catholic country at preſent; but ſtill the reproaches which it is ſafeſt to credit are ſuch as point at vices naturally connected with the very inſtitution of convents, and with the monaſtic life. The cruel and inveterate factions and quarrels, therefore, which the commiſſioners mentioned, are very credible among men, who, being confined

together within the ſame walls, never can forget their mutual animoſities, and who, being cut off from all the moſt endearing connexions of nature, are commonly curſed with hearts more ſelfiſh and tempers more unrelenting than fall to the ſhare of other men. The pious frauds practiſed to increaſe the devotion and liberality of the people may be regarded as certain in an order founded on illuſions, lies, and ſuperſtition. The ſupine idleneſs alſo, and its attendant profound ignorance, with which the convents were reproached, admit of no queſtion; and, though monks were the true preſervers as well as inventors of the dreaming and captious philoſophy of the ſchools, no manly or elegant knowledge could be expected among men whoſe lives, condemned to a tedious uniformity, and deprived of all emulation, afforded nothing to raiſe the mind or cultivate the genius.

Some few monaſteries, terrified with this rigorous inquiſition carried on by Cromwell and his commiſſioners, ſurrendered their revenues into the king's hands; and the monks received ſmall penſions as the reward of their obſequiouſneſs. Orders were given to diſmiſs ſuch nuns and friars as were below four and twenty, whoſe vows were on that account ſuppoſed not to be binding. The doors of the convents were opened, even to ſuch as were above that age, and every one recovered his liberty who deſired it.

A PARLIAMENT.

But, as all theſe expedients did not fully anſwer the king's purpoſe, he had recourſe to his uſual inſtrument of power, the parliament; and, in order to prepare men for the innovations projected, the report of the viſitors was publiſhed, and a general horror was endeavoured to be excited in the nation againſt inſtitutions which to their anceſtors had been the objects of the moſt profound veneration.

SUPPRESSION OF THE LESSER MONASTERIES.

THE king, though determined utterly to aboliſh the monaſtic orders, reſolved to proceed gradually in this great work; and he gave directions to the parliament to go no farther at preſent than to ſuppreſs the leſſer monaſteries, which poſſeſſed revenues below two hundred pounds a year.[f] Theſe were found to be the moſt corrupted, as lying leſs under the reſtraint of ſhame, and being expoſed to leſs ſcrutiny;[g] and it was deemed ſafeſt to begin with them, and thereby prepare the way for the greater innovations projected. By this act three hundred and ſeventy-ſix monaſteries were ſuppreſſed; and their revenues, amounting to thirty-two thouſand pounds a year, were granted to the king; beſides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at a hundred thouſand pounds more.[h] It does not appear that any oppoſition was made to this important law; ſo abſolute was Henry's authority! A court, called the court of augmentation of the king's revenue, was erected for the management of theſe funds. The people naturally concluded, from this circumſtance, that Henry intended to proceed in deſpoiling the church of her patrimony.[i]

The act formerly paſſed, empowering the king to name thirty-two commiſſioners for framing a body of canon-law, was renewed; but the project was never carried into execution. Henry thought that the preſent perplexity of that law increaſed his authority, and kept the clergy in ſtill greater dependance.

Farther progreſs was made in completing the union of Wales with England: the ſeparate juriſdictions of ſeveral great lords or marchers, as they were called, which obſtructed the courſe of juſtice in Wales, and encouraged robbery and pillaging, were aboliſhed; and the authority of the king's courts was extended

every where. Some juriſdictions of a like nature in England were alſo aboliſhed this ſeſſion.[k]

The commons, ſenſible that they had gained nothing by oppoſing the king's will when he formerly endeavoured to ſecure the profits of wardſhips and liveries, were now contented to frame a law[l] ſuch as he dictated to them. It was enacted that the poſſeſſion of land ſhall be adjudged to be in thoſe who have the uſe of it, not in thoſe to whom it is transferred in truſt.

After all theſe laws were paſſed the king diſſolved the parliament; a parliament memorable not only for the great and important innovations which it introduced, but alſo for the long time it had ſat, and the frequent prorogations which it had undergone. Henry had found it ſo obſequious to his will that he did not chooſe, during thoſe religious ferments, to hazard a new election; and he continued the ſame parliament above ſix years; a practice at that time unuſual in England.

A CONVOCATION.

The convocation which ſat during this ſeſſion was engaged in a very important work, the deliberating on the new tranſlation which was projected of the ſcriptures. The tranſlation given by Tindal, though corrected by himſelf in a new edition, was ſtill complained of by the clergy as inaccurate and unfaithful; and it was now propoſed to them that they ſhould themſelves publiſh a tranſlation, which would not be liable to thoſe objections.

The friends of the reformation aſſerted that nothing could be more abſurd than to conceal, in an unknown tongue, the word of God itſelf, and thus to counteract the will of heaven, which for the purpoſe of univerſal ſalvation had publiſhed that ſalutary doctrine to all nations; that, if this practice were not very ab-

ſurd, the artifice at leaſt was very groſs, and proved a conſciouſneſs that the gloſſes and traditions of the clergy ſtood in direct oppoſition to the original text dictated by Supreme Intelligence; that it was now neceſſary for the people, ſo long abuſed by intereſted pretenſions, to ſee with their own eyes, and to examine whether the claims of the eccleſiaſtics were founded on that charter which was on all hands acknowledged to be derived from heaven; and that, as a ſpirit of reſearch and curioſity was happily revived, and men were now obliged to make a choice among the contending doctrines of different ſects, the proper materials for deciſion, and, above all, the holy ſcriptures, ſhould be ſet before them, and the revealed will of God, which the change of language had ſomewhat obſcured, be again by their means revealed to mankind.

The favourers of the ancient religion maintained, on the other hand, that the pretence of making the people ſee with their own eyes was a mere cheat, and was itſelf a very groſs artifice, by which the new preachers hoped to obtain the guidance of them, and to ſeduce them from thoſe paſtors whom the laws, whom ancient eſtabliſhments, whom heaven itſelf, had appointed for their ſpiritual direction: that the people were, by their ignorance, their ſtupidity, their neceſſary avocations, totally unqualified to chooſe their own principles; and it was a mockery to ſet materials before them, of which they could not poſſibly make any proper uſe: that, even in the affairs of common life, and in their temporal concerns, which lay more within the compaſs of human reaſon, the laws had in a great meaſure deprived them of the right of private judgment, and had, happily for their own and the public intereſt, regulated their conduct and behaviour: that theological queſtions were placed far beyond the ſphere of vulgar comprehenſion; and eccleſiaſtics themſelves, though aſſiſted by all the advantages of education, erudition, and an

aſſiduous ſtudy of the ſcience, could not be fully aſſured of a juſt deciſion; except by the promiſe made them in ſcripture, that God would be ever preſent with his church, and that the gates of hell ſhould not prevail againſt her: that the groſs errors adopted by the wiſeſt heathens proved how unfit men were to grope their own way through this profound darkneſs; nor would the ſcriptures, if truſted to every man's judgment, be able to remedy; on the contrary, they would much augment, thoſe fatal illuſions: that ſacred writ itſelf was involved in ſo much obſcurity, gave riſe to ſo many difficulties, contained ſo many appearing contradictions, that it was the moſt dangerous weapon that could be intruſted into the hands of the ignorant and giddy multitude: that the poetical ſtyle in which a great part of it was compoſed, at the ſame time that it occaſioned uncertainty in the ſenſe, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was ſufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticiſm, and thereby throw civil ſociety into the moſt furious combuſtion: that a thouſand ſects muſt ariſe, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the ſcripture; and would be able, by ſpecious arguments, or even without ſpecious arguments, to ſeduce ſilly women and ignorant mechanics into a belief of the moſt monſtrous principles: and that, if ever this diſorder, dangerous to the magiſtrate himſelf, received a remedy, it muſt be from the tacit acquieſcence of the people in ſome new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther conteſt or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore the more ſecure, eſtabliſhments.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.

THESE latter arguments, being more agreeable to eccleſiaſtical government, would probably have prevailed in the convocation, had it not been for the authority of Cranmer, Latimer, and

ſome other biſhops, who were ſuppoſed to ſpeak the king's ſenſe of the matter. A vote was paſſed for publiſhing a new tranſlation of the ſcriptures; and in three years' time the work was finiſhed, and printed at Paris. This was deemed a great point gained by the reformers, and a conſiderable advancement of their cauſe. Farther progreſs was ſoon expected, after ſuch important ſucceſſes.

DISGRACE OF QUEEN ANNE.

But, while the retainers to the new religion were exulting in their proſperity, they met with a mortification which ſeemed to blaſt all their hopes. Their patroneſs Anne Boleyn poſſeſſed no longer the king's favour, and ſoon after loſt her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had perſevered in his love to this lady during ſix years that his proſecution of the divorce laſted; and the more obſtacles he met with to the gratification of his paſſion, the more determined zeal did he exert in purſuing his purpoſe. But the affection which had ſubſiſted, and ſtill increaſed, under difficulties, had not long attained ſecure poſſeſſion of its object when it languiſhed from ſatiety; and the king's heart was apparently eſtranged from his conſort. Anne's enemies ſoon perceived the fatal change; and they were forward to widen the breach when they found that they incurred no danger by interpoſing in thoſe delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead ſon; and, Henry's extreme fondneſs for male iſſue being thus for the preſent diſappointed, his temper, equally violent and ſuperſtitious, was diſpoſed to make the innocent mother anſwerable for the misfortune.[m] But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king againſt her was his jealouſy.

Anne, though ſhe appears to have been entirely innocent, and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity,

of character, which threw her off her guard, and made her leſs circumſpect than her ſituation required. Her education in France rendered her the more prone to thoſe freedoms; and it was with difficulty ſhe conformed herſelf to that ſtrict ceremonial practiſed in the court of England. More vain than haughty, ſhe was pleaſed to ſee the influence of her beauty on all around her, and ſhe indulged herſelf in an eaſy familiarity with perſons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendſhip and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with theſe popular manners; and, though the lover had been entirely blind, the huſband poſſeſſed but too quick diſcernment and penetration. Ill inſtruments interpoſed, and put a malignant interpretation on the harmleſs liberties of the queen: the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her ſiſter-in-law, inſinuated the moſt cruel ſuſpicions into the king's mind; and, as ſhe was a woman of profligate character, ſhe paid no regard either to truth or humanity in thoſe calumnies which ſhe ſuggeſted. She pretended that her own huſband was engaged in a criminal correſpondence with his ſiſter; and, not content with this imputation, ſhe poiſoned every action of the queen's, and repreſented each inſtance of favour which ſhe conferred on any one as a token of affection. Henry Norris groom of the ſtole, Weſton and Brereton gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton groom of the chamber, were obſerved to poſſeſs much of the queen's friendſhip; and they ſerved her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be ſeaſoned with ſome mixture of tenderneſs for ſo amiable a princeſs. The king's jealouſy laid hold of the ſlighteſt circumſtance, and, finding no particular object on which it could faſten, it vented itſelf equally on every one that came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealouſy been derived from love, though it might on a ſudden have proceeded to the moſt violent extremities, it would have been ſubject to many remorſes and contrarieties; and might at laſt have ſerved only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more ſtern jealouſy, foſtered entirely by pride; his love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of ſir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of ſingular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire aſcendant over him; and he was determined to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to moſt monarchs, who judge lightly of the crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damſels of their court rather honoured than diſgraced by their paſſion, he ſeldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage; and, in order to attain this end, he underwent more difficulties, and committed greater crimes, than thoſe which he ſought to avoid by forming that legal connexion: and, having thus entertained the deſign of raiſing his new miſtreſs to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every ſuggeſtion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealouſy firſt appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief; an incident probably caſual, but interpreted by him as an inſtance of gallantry to ſome of her paramours.[n] He immediately retired from the place; ſent orders to confine her to her chamber; arreſted Norris, Brereton, Weſton, and Smeton, together with her brother Rocheford; and threw them into priſon. The queen, aſtoniſhed at theſe inſtances of his fury, thought that he meant only to try her; but, finding him in earneſt, ſhe reflected on his obſtinate unrelenting ſpirit, and ſhe prepared herſelf for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day ſhe was ſent to the tower; and on her way thither ſhe was informed of

her ſuppoſed offences, of which ſhe had hitherto been ignorant. She made earneſt proteſtations of her innocence; and when ſhe entered the priſon ſhe fell on her knees, and prayed God ſo to help her as ſhe was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her ſurpriſe and confuſion threw her into hyſterical diſorders; and in that ſituation ſhe thought that the beſt proof of her innocence was to make an entire confeſſion, and ſhe revealed ſome indiſcretions and levities which her ſimplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that ſhe had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when ſhe ſhould be a widow. She had reproved Weſton, ſhe ſaid, for his affection to a kinſwoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that ſhe had miſtaken the object of his affection, for it was herſelf: upon which ſhe defied him.° She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpſichord: but ſhe acknowledged that he had once had the boldneſs to tell her that a look ſufficed him. The king, inſtead of being ſatisfied with the candour and ſincerity of her confeſſion, regarded theſe indiſcretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Of all thoſe multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her proſperous fortune, no one durſt interpoſe between her and the king's fury; and the perſon whoſe advancement every breath had favoured, and every countenance had ſmiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connexions of party to the ties of blood, was become her moſt dangerous enemy; and all the retainers to the catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the moſt intimate union with the apoſtolic

ſee. Cranmer alone, of all the queen's adherents, ſtill retained his friendſhip for her; and, as far as the king's impetuoſity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained againſt her.

The queen herſelf wrote Henry a letter from the tower, full of the moſt tender expoſtulations, and of the warmeſt proteſtations of innocence.[p] This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weſton, Brereton, and Smeton, were tried; but no legal evidence was produced againſt them. The chief proof of their guilt conſiſted in a hearſay from one lady Wingfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confeſs a criminal correſpondence with the queen;[q] but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confeſſion, for they never dared to confront him with her; and he was immediately executed, as were alſo Brereton and Weſton. Norris had been much in the king's favour; and an offer of life was made him if he would confeſs his crime, and accuſe the queen: but he generouſly rejected the propoſal, and ſaid that in his conſcience he believed her entirely guiltleſs; but for his part he could accuſe her of nothing, and he would rather die a thouſand deaths than calumniate an innocent perſon.

TRIAL OF QUEEN ANNE.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, conſiſting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more; their uncle the duke of Norfolk preſided as high ſteward. Upon what proof or pretence the crime of inceſt was imputed to them is unknown; the chief evidence, it is ſaid, amounted to no more than that Rocheford

CONDEMNATION OF ANNE BOLEYN

had been ſeen to lean on her bed before ſome company. Part of the charge againſt her was, that ſhe had affirmed to her minions that the king never had her heart, and had ſaid to each of them apart that ſhe loved him better than any perſon whatſoever; which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the king and her. By this ſtrained interpretation her guilt was brought under the ſtatute of the twenty-fifth of this reign; in which it was declared criminal to throw any ſlander upon the king, queen, or their iſſue. Such palpable abſurdities were at that time admitted; and they were regarded by the peers of England as a ſufficient reaſon for ſacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unaſſiſted by counſel, ſhe defended herſelf with preſence of mind; and the ſpectators could not forbear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court both againſt the queen and lord Rocheford; and her verdict contained that ſhe ſhould be burned or beheaded at the king's pleaſure. When this dreadful ſentence was pronounced ſhe was not terrified, but, lifting up her hands to heaven, ſaid, 'O Father! O Creator! thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I have not deſerved this fate.' And then, turning to the judges, made the moſt pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not ſatisfied with this cruel vengeance, was reſolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her iſſue illegitimate: he recalled to his memory that a little after her appearance in the Engliſh court ſome attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then lord Piercy; and he now queſtioned the nobleman with regard to theſe engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbiſhops that no contract or promiſe of marriage had ever paſſed between them; he received the ſacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy

council; and this ſolemn act he accompanied with the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of veracity.[r] The queen, however, was ſhaken by menaces of executing the ſentence againſt her in its greateſt rigour, and was prevailed on to confeſs in court ſome lawful impediment to her marriage with the king.[s] The afflicted primate, who ſat as judge, thought himſelf obliged by this confeſſion to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the tranſports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconſiſtent, and that, if her marriage were from the beginning invalid, ſhe could not poſſibly be guilty of adultery.

EXECUTION OF QUEEN ANNE.

The queen now prepared for ſuffering the death to which ſhe was ſentenced. She ſent her laſt meſſage to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which ſhe owed him in thus uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement: from a private gentlewoman, ſhe ſaid, he had firſt made her a marchioneſs, then a queen; and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher in this world, he was ſending her to be a ſaint in heaven. She then renewed the proteſtations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the tower, and all who approached her, ſhe made the like declarations; and continued to behave herſelf with her uſual ſerenity, and even with cheerfulneſs. 'The executioner,' ſhe ſaid to the lieutenant, 'is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very ſlender.' Upon which ſhe graſped it in her hand, and ſmiled. When brought, however, to the ſcaffold, ſhe ſoftened her tone a little with regard to her proteſtations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obſtinacy of queen Catherine, and her oppoſition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary; her own maternal concern, therefore, for Elizabeth, pre-

vailed in theſe laſt moments over that indignation which the unjuſt ſentence by which ſhe ſuffered naturally excited in her. She ſaid that ſhe was come to die as ſhe was ſentenced by the law; ſhe would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the king; called him a moſt merciful and gentle prince; and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious ſovereign; and, if any one ſhould think proper to canvaſs her cauſe, ſhe deſired him to judge the beſt.[t] She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was ſent for as more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common cheſt of elm-tree, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the tower.

The innocence of this unfortunate queen cannot reaſonably be called in queſtion. Henry himſelf, in the violence of his rage, knew not whom to accuſe as her lover; and, though he imputed guilt to her brother and four perſons more, he was able to bring proof againſt none of them. The whole tenor of her conduct forbids us to aſcribe to her an abandoned character, ſuch as is implied in the king's accuſation; had ſhe been ſo loſt to all prudence and ſenſe of ſhame; ſhe muſt have expoſed herſelf to detection, and afforded her enemies ſome evidence againſt her. But the king made the moſt effectual apology for her by marrying Jane Seymour the very day after her execution.[u] His impatience to gratify this new paſſion cauſed him to forget all regard to decency; and his cruel heart was not ſoftened a moment by the bloody cataſtrophe of a perſon who had ſo long been the object of his moſt tender affections.

The lady Mary thought the death of her ſtepmother a proper opportunity for reconciling herſelf to the king, who, beſides other cauſes of diſguſt, had been offended with her on account of the part which ſhe had taken in her mother's quarrel. Her

advances were not at firſt received; and Henry exacted from her ſome farther proofs of ſubmiſſion and obedience: he required this young princeſs, then about twenty years of age, to adopt his theological tenets; to acknowledge his ſupremacy; to renounce the pope; and to own her mother's marriage to be unlawful and inceſtuous. Theſe points were of hard digeſtion with the princeſs; but, after ſome delays, and even refuſals, ſhe was at laſt prevailed on to write a letter to her father,[x] containing her aſſent to the articles required of her; upon which ſhe was received into favour. But, notwithſtanding the return of the king's affection to the iſſue of his firſt marriage, he diveſted not himſelf of kindneſs towards the lady Elizabeth; and the new queen, who was bleſt with a ſingular ſweetneſs of diſpoſition, diſcovered ſtrong proofs of attachment towards her.

A PARLIAMENT.

The trial and conviction of queen Anne, and the ſubſequent events, made it neceſſary for the king to ſummon a new parliament; and he here, in his ſpeech, made a merit to his people that, notwithſtanding the misfortunes attending his two former marriages, he had been induced for their good to venture on a third. The ſpeaker received this profeſſion with ſuitable gratitude; and he took thence occaſion to praiſe the king for his wonderful gifts of grace and nature: he compared him for juſtice and prudence to Solomon; for ſtrength and fortitude to Sampſon; and for beauty and comelineſs to Abſalom. The king very humbly replied, by the mouth of the chancellor, that he diſavowed theſe praiſes; ſince, if he were really poſſeſſed of ſuch endowments, they were the gift of Almighty God only. Henry found that the parliament was no leſs ſubmiſſive in deeds than complaiſant in their expreſſions, and that they would go the

ſame lengths as the former in gratifying even his moſt lawleſs paſſions. His divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified;[y] that queen and all her accomplices were attainted; the iſſue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; and it was even made treaſon to aſſert the legitimacy of either of them; to throw any ſlander upon the preſent king, queen, or their iſſue, was ſubjected to the ſame penalty; the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue by Jane Seymour, or any ſubſequent wife; and, in caſe he ſhould die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to diſpoſe of the crown: an enormous authority, eſpecially when intruſted to a prince ſo violent and capricious in his humour. Whoever, being required, refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any article of this act of ſettlement, was declared to be guilty of treaſon; and by this clauſe a ſpecies of political inquiſition was eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, as well as the accuſations of treaſon multiplied to an unreaſonable degree. The king was alſo empowered to confer on any one, by his will or letters patent, any caſtles, honours, liberties, or franchiſes; words which might have been extended to the diſmembering of the kingdom by the erection of principalities and independent juriſdictions. It was alſo, by another act, made treaſon to marry, without the king's conſent, any princeſs related in the firſt degree to the crown. This act was occaſioned by the diſcovery of a deſign formed by Thomas Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, to eſpouſe the lady Margaret Douglas, niece to the king by his ſiſter the queen of Scots and the earl of Angus. Howard, as well as the young lady, was committed to the tower. She recovered her liberty ſoon after, but he died in confinement. An act of attainder paſſed againſt him this ſeſſion of parliament.

Another acceſſion was likewiſe gained to the authority of the crown; the king, or any of his ſucceſſors, was empowered to

repeal or annul, by letters patent, whatever act of parliament had been paſſed before he was four and twenty years of age. Whoever maintained the authority of the biſhop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to reſtore it in England, was ſubjected to the penalty of a premunire; that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of law. And any perſon who poſſeſſed any office eccleſiaſtical or civil, or received any grant or charter from the crown, and yet refuſed to renounce the pope by oath, was declared to be guilty of treaſon. The renunciation preſcribed runs in the ſtyle of 'So help me God, all ſaints,[z] and the holy evangeliſts.' The pope, hearing of Anne Boleyn's diſgrace and death, had hoped that the door was opened to a reconciliation, and had been making ſome advances to Henry; but this was the reception he met with. Henry was now become indifferent with regard to papal cenſures; and, finding a great increaſe of authority, as well as of revenue, to accrue from his quarrel with Rome, he was determined to perſevere in his preſent meaſures. This parliament alſo, even more than any foregoing, convinced him how much he commanded the reſpect of his ſubjects, and what confidence he might repoſe in them. Though the elections had been made on a ſudden, without any preparation or intrigue, the members diſcovered an unlimited attachment to his perſon and government.[a]

A CONVOCATION

The extreme complaiſance of the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, encouraged him in his reſolution of breaking entirely with the court of Rome. There was ſecretly a great diviſion of ſentiments in the minds of this aſſembly; and, as the zeal of the reformers had been augmented

by ſome late ſucceſſes, the reſentment of the catholics was no leſs excited by their fears and loſſes: but the authority of the king kept every one ſubmiſſive and ſilent; and the new aſſumed prerogative, the ſupremacy, with whoſe limits no one was fully acquainted, reſtrained even the moſt furious movements of theological rancour. Cromwell preſided as vicar-general; and, though the catholic party expected that, on the fall of queen Anne, his authority would receive a great ſhock, they were ſurpriſed to find him ſtill maintain the ſame credit as before. With the vicar-general concurred Cranmer the primate, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Hilſey of Rocheſter, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's. The oppoſite faction was headed by Lee archbiſhop of York, Stokeſley biſhop of London, Tonſtal of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Longland of Lincoln, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle. The former party, by their oppoſition to the pope, ſeconded the king's ambition and love of power; the latter party, by maintaining the ancient theological tenets, were more conformable to his ſpeculative principles; and both of them had alternately the advantage of gaining on his humour, by which he was more governed than by either of theſe motives.

The church in general was averſe to the reformation; and the lower houſe of convocation framed a liſt of opinions, in the whole ſixty-ſeven, which they pronounced erroneous, and which was a collection of principles, ſome held by the ancient Lollards, others by the modern proteſtants, or Goſpellers, as they were ſometimes called. Theſe opinions they ſent to the upper houſe to be cenſured; but in the preamble of their repreſentation they diſcovered the ſervile ſpirit by which they were governed. They ſaid, that 'they intended not to do or ſpeak any thing which might be unpleaſant to the king, whom they acknowledge their ſupreme head, and whoſe commands they were reſolved to obey;

renouncing the pope's uſurped authority, with all his laws and inventions, now extinguiſhed and aboliſhed; and addicting themſelves to Almighty God and his laws, and unto the king and the laws made within [b] this kingdom.'

The convocation came at laſt, after ſome debate, to decide articles of faith; and their tenets were of as motley a kind as the aſſembly itſelf, or rather as the king's ſyſtem of theology, by which they were reſolved entirely to ſquare their principles. They determined the ſtandard of faith to conſiſt in the ſcriptures and the three creeds, the Apoſtolic, Nicene, and Athanaſian; and this article was a ſignal victory to the reformers: auricular confeſſion and penance were admitted, a doctrine agreeable to the catholics: no mention was made of marriage, extreme unction, confirmation, or holy orders, as ſacraments; and in this omiſſion the influence of the proteſtants appeared: the real preſence was aſſerted, conformably to the ancient doctrine: the terms of acceptance were eſtabliſhed to be the merits of Chriſt, and the mercy and good pleaſure of God, ſuitably to the new principles.

So far the two ſects ſeem to have made a fair partition, by alternately ſharing the ſeveral clauſes. In framing the ſubſequent articles each of them ſeems to have thrown in its ingredient. The catholics prevailed in aſſerting that the uſe of images was warranted by ſcripture; the proteſtants in warning the people againſt idolatry, and the abuſe of theſe ſenſible repreſentations. The ancient faith was adopted in maintaining the expedience of praying to ſaints; the late innovations in rejecting the peculiar patronage of ſaints to any trade, profeſſion, or courſe of action. The former rites of worſhip, the uſe of holy water, and the ceremonies practiſed on Aſh Wedneſday, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and other feſtivals, were ſtill maintained; but the new refinements, which made light of theſe inſtitutions, were

alſo adopted, by the convocation's denying that they had any immediate power of remitting ſin, and by its aſſerting that their ſole merit conſiſted in promoting pious and devout diſpoſitions in the mind.

But the article, with regard to purgatory, contains the moſt curious jargon, ambiguity, and heſitation, ariſing from the mixture of oppoſite tenets. It was to this purpoſe; 'Since, according to due order of charity, and the book of Maccabees, and divers ancient authors, it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for ſouls departed; and ſince ſuch a practice has been maintained in the church from the beginning; all biſhops and teachers ſhould inſtruct the people not to be grieved for the continuance of the ſame. But, ſince the place where departed ſouls are retained before they reach paradiſe, as well as the nature of their pains, is left uncertain by ſcripture, all ſuch queſtions are to be ſubmitted to God, to whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient to commend the deceaſed, truſting that he accepteth our prayers for them.'

Theſe articles, when framed by the convocation, and corrected by the king, were ſubſcribed by every member of that aſſembly; while, perhaps, neither there nor throughout the whole kingdom could one man be found, except Henry himſelf, who had adopted preciſely theſe very doctrines and opinions; for, though there be not any contradiction in the tenets above mentioned, it had happened in England, as in all countries where factious diviſions have place, a certain creed was embraced by each party; few neuters were to be found; and theſe conſiſted only of ſpeculative or whimſical people, of whom two perſons could ſcarcely be brought to an agreement in the ſame dogmas. The proteſtants all of them carried their oppoſition to Rome farther than thoſe articles; none of the catholics went ſo far; and the king, by being able to retain the nation in ſuch a delicate medium,

diſplayed the utmoſt power of an imperious deſpotiſm of which any hiſtory furniſhes an example. To change the religion of a country, even when ſeconded by a party, is one of the moſt perilous enterpriſes which any ſovereign can attempt, and often proves the moſt deſtructive to royal authority. But Henry was able to ſet the political machine in that furious movement, and yet regulate and even ſtop its career: he could ſay to it, 'Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no farther:' and he made every vote of his parliament and convocation ſubſervient, not only to his intereſts and paſſions, but even to his greateſt caprices; nay, to his moſt refined and moſt ſcholaſtic ſubtilties.

DISCONTENTS AMONG THE PEOPLE.

THE concurrence of theſe two national aſſemblies ſerved, no doubt, to increaſe the king's power over the people, and raiſed him to an authority more abſolute than any prince in a ſimple monarchy, even by means of military force, is ever able to attain. But there are certain bounds beyond which the moſt ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion cannot be extended. All the late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent danger to which all the reſt were expoſed,[d] had bred diſcontent among the people, and had diſpoſed them to revolt. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, excited both the piety and compaſſion of men; and, as the ancient religion took hold of the populace by powerful motives ſuited to vulgar capacity, it was able, now that it was brought into apparent hazard, to raiſe the ſtrongeſt zeal in its favour.[e] Diſcontents had even reached ſome of the nobility and gentry, whoſe anceſtors had founded the monaſteries, and who placed a vanity in thoſe inſtitutions, as well as reaped ſome benefit from them by the proviſions which they afforded them for their younger children.

The more ſuperſtitious were intereſted for the ſouls of their forefathers, which, they believed, muſt now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. It ſeemed unjuſt to aboliſh pious inſtitutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals. Even the moſt moderate and reaſonable deemed it ſomewhat iniquitous that men, who had been invited into a courſe of life by all the laws human and divine which prevailed in their country, ſhould be turned out of their poſſeſſions, and ſo little care be taken of their future ſubſiſtence. And, when it was obſerved that the rapacity and bribery of the commiſſioners and others, employed in viſiting the monaſteries, intercepted much of the profits reſulting from theſe confiſcations, it tended much to increaſe the general diſcontent.[f]

But the people did not break into open ſedition till the complaints of the ſecular clergy concurred with thoſe of the regular. As Cromwell's perſon was little acceptable to the eccleſiaſtics, the authority which he exerciſed being ſo new, ſo abſolute, ſo unlimited, inſpired them with diſguſt and terror. He publiſhed, in the king's name, without the conſent either of parliament or convocation, an ordonance by which he retrenched many of the ancient holidays; prohibited ſeveral ſuperſtitions gainful to the clergy, ſuch as pilgrimages, images, reliques; and even ordered the incumbents in the pariſhes to ſet apart a conſiderable portion of their revenue for repairs, and for the ſupport of exhibitioners and the poor of their pariſh. The ſecular prieſts, finding themſelves thus reduced to a grievous ſervitude, inſtilled into the people thoſe diſcontents which they had long harboured in their own boſoms.

INSURRECTION.

The firſt riſing was in Lincolnſhire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who was diſguiſed like a mean mechanic,

and who bore the name of captain Cobler. This tumultuary army amounted to above twenty thouſand men;[g] but, notwithſtanding their number, they ſhewed little diſpoſition of proceeding to extremities againſt the king, and ſeemed ſtill overawed by his authority. They acknowledged him to be ſupreme head of the church of England; but they complained of ſuppreſſing the monaſteries, of evil counſellors, of perſons meanly born raiſed to dignity, of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their parochial churches were expoſed; and they prayed the king to conſult the nobility of the realm concerning the redreſs of theſe grievances.[h] Henry was little diſpoſed to entertain apprehenſions of danger, eſpecially from a low multitude, whom he deſpiſed. He ſent forces againſt the rebels under the command of the duke of Suffolk; and he returned them a very ſharp anſwer to their petition. There were ſome gentry, whom the populace had conſtrained to take part with them, and who kept a ſecret correſpondence with Suffolk. They informed him that reſentment againſt the king's reply was the chief cauſe which retained the malcontents in arms, and that a milder anſwer would probably ſuppreſs the rebellion. Henry had levied a great force at London, with which he was preparing to march againſt the rebels; and, being ſo well ſupported by power, he thought that, without loſing his dignity, he might now ſhew them ſome greater condeſcenſion. He ſent a new proclamation, requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of pardon. This expedient had its effect; the populace was diſperſed; Mackrel and ſome of their leaders fell into the king's hands, and were executed; the greater part of the multitude retired peaceably to their uſual occupations; a few of the more obſtinate fled to the north, where they joined the inſurrection that was raiſed in thoſe parts.

The northern rebels, as they were more numerous, were alſo on other accounts more formidable than thoſe of Lincolnſhire; becauſe the people were there more accuſtomed to arms, and becauſe of their vicinity to the Scots, who might make advantage of theſe diſorders. One Aſke, a gentleman, had taken the command of them, and he poſſeſſed the art of governing the populace. Their enterpriſe they called 'the Pilgrimage of Grace.' Some prieſts marched before in the habits of their order, carrying croſſes in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the repreſentation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Chriſt;[i] they wore on their ſleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jeſus wrought in the middle; they all took an oath that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their care of the king's perſon and iſſue, their deſire of purifying the nobility, of driving baſe-born perſons from about the king, of reſtoring the church, and of ſuppreſſing hereſy. Allured by theſe fair pretences, about forty thouſand men from the counties of York, Durham, Lancaſter, and thoſe northern provinces, flocked to their ſtandard; and their zeal, no leſs than their numbers, inſpired the court with apprehenſions.

The earl of Shrewſbury, moved by his regard for the king's ſervice, raiſed forces, though at firſt without any commiſſion, in order to oppoſe the rebels; the earl of Cumberland repulſed them from his caſtle of Skipton; ſir Ralph Evers defended Scarborough caſtle againſt them;[k] Courtney, marquis of Exeter, the king's couſin-german, obeyed orders from court, and levied troops; the earls of Huntingdon, Derby, and Rutland, imitated his example. The rebels, however, prevailed in taking both Hull and York. They had laid ſiege to Pomfret caſtle, into which the archbiſhop of York and lord Darcy had thrown themſelves. It was ſoon ſurrendered to them; and the prelate and nobleman,

who ſecretly wiſhed ſucceſs to the inſurrection, ſeemed to yield to the force impoſed on them, and joined the rebels.

The duke of Norfolk was appointed general of the king's forces againſt the northern rebels; and, as he headed the party at court which ſupported the ancient religion, he was alſo ſuſpected of bearing ſome favour to the cauſe which he was ſent to oppoſe. His prudent conduct, however, ſeems to acquit him of this imputation. He encamped near Doncaſter, together with the earl of Shrewſbury; and, as his army was ſmall, ſcarcely exceeding five thouſand men, he made choice of a poſt where he had a river in front, the ford of which he purpoſed to defend againſt the rebels. They had intended to attack him in the morning; but during the night there fell ſuch violent rains as rendered the river utterly impaſſable, and Norfolk wiſely laid hold of the opportunity to enter into treaty with them. In order to open the door for negociation, he ſent them a herald; whom Aſke, their leader, received with great ceremony; he himſelf ſitting in a chair of ſtate, with the archbiſhop of York on one hand and lord Darcy on the other. It was agreed that two gentlemen ſhould be diſpatched to the king with propoſals from the rebels; and Henry purpoſely delayed giving an anſwer, and allured them with hopes of entire ſatisfaction, in expectation that neceſſity would ſoon oblige them to diſperſe themſelves. Being informed that his artifice had in a great meaſure ſucceeded, he required them inſtantly to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to mercy; promiſing a pardon to all except ſix whom he named, and four whom he reſerved to himſelf the power of naming. But, though the greater part of the rebels had gone home for want of ſubſiſtence, they had entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements to return to their ſtandards, in caſe the king's anſwer ſhould not prove ſatisfactory. Norfolk, therefore, ſoon found himſelf in the ſame difficulty as before; and he opened again a

negociation with the leaders of the multitude. He engaged them to ſend three hundred perſons to Doncaſter, with propoſals for an accommodation; and he hoped, by intrigue and ſeparate intereſts, to throw diſſenſion among ſo great a number. Aſke himſelf had intended to be one of the deputies, and he required a hoſtage for his ſecurity. But the king, when conſulted, replied, that he knew no gentleman or other whom he eſteemed ſo little as to put him in pledge for ſuch a villain. The demands of the rebels were ſo exorbitant that Norfolk rejected them; and they prepared again to decide the conteſt by arms. They were as formidable as ever, both by their numbers and ſpirit; and, notwithſtanding the ſmall river which lay between them and the royal army, Norfolk had great reaſon to dread the effects of their fury. But, while they were preparing to paſs the ford, rain fell a ſecond time in ſuch abundance as made it impracticable for them to execute their deſign; and the populace, partly reduced to neceſſity by want of proviſions, partly ſtruck with ſuperſtition at being thus again diſappointed by the ſame accident, ſuddenly diſperſed themſelves. The duke of Norfolk, who had received powers for that end, forwarded the diſperſion by the promiſe of a general amneſty; and the king ratified this act of clemency. He publiſhed, however, a manifeſto againſt the rebels, and an anſwer to their complaints; in which he employed a very lofty ſtyle, ſuited to ſo haughty a monarch. He told them that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government than a blind man with regard to colours: 'and we,' he added, 'with our whole council, think it right ſtrange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to appoint us who be meet or not for our council.'

As this pacification was not likely to be of long continuance, Norfolk was ordered to keep his army together, and to march

into the northern parts, in order to exact a general ſubmiſſion. Lord Darcy, as well as Aſke, was ſent for to court; and the former, upon his refuſal or delay to appear, was thrown into priſon. Every place was full of jealouſy and complaints. A new inſurrection broke out, headed by Muſgrave and Tilby; and the rebels beſieged Carliſle with eight thouſand men. Being repulſed by that city, they were encountered in their retreat by Norfolk, who put them to flight; and, having made priſoners of all their officers except Muſgrave, who eſcaped, he inſtantly put them to death by martial law, to the number of ſeventy perſons. An attempt, made by ſir Francis Bigot and Halam, to ſurpriſe Hull met with no better ſucceſs; and ſeveral other riſings were ſuppreſſed by the vigilance of Norfolk. The king, enraged by theſe multiplied revolts, was determined not to adhere to the general pardon which he had granted; and, from a movement of his uſual violence, he made the innocent ſuffer for the guilty. Norfolk, by command from his maſter, ſpread the royal banner, and wherever he thought proper executed martial law in the puniſhment of offenders. Beſides Aſke, leader of the firſt inſurrection, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir John Bulmer, ſir Thomas Piercy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Lumley, and many others, were thrown into priſon; and moſt of them were condemned and executed. Lord Huſſey was found guilty as an accomplice in the inſurrection of Lincolnſhire, and was executed at Lincoln. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulſion, and appealed for his juſtification to a long life ſpent in the ſervice of the crown, was beheaded on Tower-hill. Before his execution he accuſed Norfolk of having ſecretly encouraged the rebels; but Henry, either ſenſible of that nobleman's ſervices, and convinced of his fidelity, or afraid to offend one of ſuch extenſive power and great capacity, rejected the information. Being now ſatiated with puniſhing the rebels, he publiſhed anew a

general pardon, to which he faithfully adhered;[l] and he erected by patent a court of juſtice at York for deciding law-ſuits in the northern counties; a demand which had been made by the rebels.

PRINCE EDWARD BORN, AND QUEEN JANE'S DEATH. 1537.

Soon after this proſperous ſucceſs an event happened which crowned Henry's joy; the birth of a ſon, on the twelfth of October, who was baptiſed by the name of Edward. Yet was not his happineſs without allay; the queen died two days after.[m] But a ſon had ſo long been ardently wiſhed for by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, after the acts declaring the two princeſſes illegitimate, that the king's affliction was drowned in his joy, and he expreſſed great ſatisfaction on the occaſion. The prince, not ſix days old, was created prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter. Sir Edward Seymour, the queen's brother, formerly made lord Beauchamp, was raiſed to the dignity of earl of Hertford. Sir William Fitz Williams, high admiral, was created earl of Southampton; ſir William Paulet, lord St. John; ſir John Ruſſel, lord Ruſſel.

The ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the birth of a ſon, as they confirmed Henry's authority at home, increaſed his conſideration among foreign princes, and made his alliance be courted by all parties. He maintained, however, a neutrality in the wars, which were carried on with various ſucceſs, and without any deciſive event, between Charles and Francis; and, though inclined more to favour the latter, he determined not to incur, without neceſſity, either hazard or expenſe on his account. A truce, concluded about this time between theſe potentates, and afterwards prolonged for ten years, freed him from all anxiety

on account of his ally, and re-eſtabliſhed the tranquillity of Europe.

Henry continued deſirous of cementing a union with the German proteſtants; and for that purpoſe he ſent Chriſtopher Mount to a congreſs which they held at Brunſwick; but that miniſter made no great progreſs in his negociation. The princes wiſhed to know what were the articles in their confeſſion which Henry diſliked; and they ſent new ambaſſadors to him, who had orders both to negociate and to diſpute. They endeavoured to convince the king that he was guilty of a miſtake in adminiſtering the euchariſt in one kind only, in allowing private maſſes, and in requiring the celibacy of the clergy.[n] Henry would by no means acknowledge any error in theſe particulars; and was diſpleaſed that they ſhould pretend to preſcribe rules to ſo great a monarch and theologian. He found arguments and ſyllogiſms enow to defend his cauſe; and he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors without coming to any concluſion. Jealous alſo leſt his own ſubjects ſhould become ſuch theologians as to queſtion his tenets, he uſed great precaution in publiſhing that tranſlation of the ſcripture which was finiſhed this year. He would only allow a copy of it to be depoſited in ſome pariſh churches, where it was fixed by a chain; and he took care to inform the people by proclamation 'that this indulgence was not the effect of his duty, but of his goodneſs and his liberality to them; who therefore ſhould uſe it moderately, for the increaſe of virtue, not of ſtrife: and he ordered that no man ſhould read the Bible aloud, ſo as to diſturb the prieſt while he ſang maſs, nor preſume to expound doubtful places without advice from the learned.' In this meaſure, as in the reſt, he ſtill halted half way between the catholics and the proteſtants.

SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES. 1538.

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decifive; becaufe he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly fpeaking, his rapacity, the conſequence of his profuſion; this meaſure was, the entire deſtruction of the monaſteries. The preſent opportunity ſeemed favourable for that great enterpriſe, while the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion fortified and increaſed the royal authority; and, as ſome of the abbots were ſuſpected of having encouraged the inſurrection, and of correſponding with the rebels, the king's reſentment was farther incited by that motive. A new viſitation was appointed of all the monaſteries in England; and, a pretence only being wanted for their ſuppreſſion, it was eaſy for a prince, poſſeſſed of ſuch unlimited power, and ſeconding the preſent humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were expoſed; and, having learned, by the example of the leſſer monaſteries, that nothing could withſtand the king's will, they were moſt of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary reſignation of their houſes. Where promiſes failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and, as ſeveral of the abbots ſince the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more eaſily effected. Some alſo, having ſecretly embraced the doctrine of the reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and, on the whole, the deſign was conducted with ſuch ſucceſs, that in leſs than two years the king had got poſſeſſion of all the monaſtic revenues.

In ſeveral places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great intereſt was made to preſerve ſome convents of women, who, as

they lived in the moſt irreproachable manner, juſtly merited, it was thought, that their houſes ſhould be ſaved from the general deſtruction.° There appeared alſo great difference between the caſe of nuns and that of friars; and the one inſtitution might be laudable while the other was expoſed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with induſtry, might be of ſervice to the public; and none of them could want employment ſuited to his ſtation and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a ſettlement in the marriage ſtate, an accident to which ſuch perſons were more liable than women of lower ſtation, had really no rank which ſhe properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable from the inutility, and often want, which attended her ſituation. But the king was determined to aboliſh monaſteries of every denomination; and probably thought that theſe ancient eſtabliſhments would be the ſooner forgotten if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to ſubſiſt in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, ſtories were propagated of the deteſtable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame thoſe whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques alſo, and other ſuperſtitions, which had ſo long been the object of the people's veneration, were expoſed to their ridicule; and the religious ſpirit, now leſs bent on exterior obſervances and ſenſible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needleſs to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: proteſtant hiſtorians mention on this occaſion, with great triumph, the ſacred repoſitories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; ſome of the coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the virgin ſhewn in eleven ſeveral places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaſter, an infallible cure for the headach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's ſhirt, much reverenced

by big-bellied women; ſome reliques, an excellent preventive againſt rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But ſuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the moſt refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the catholic religion.

There were alſo diſcovered, or ſaid to be diſcovered, in the monaſteries ſome impoſtures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloceſter, there had been ſhewn, during ſeveral ages, the blood of Chriſt brought from Jeruſalem; and it is eaſy to imagine the veneration with which ſuch a relique was regarded. A miraculous circumſtance alſo attended this miraculous relique; the ſacred blood was not viſible to any one in mortal ſin, even when ſet before him; and, till he had performed good works ſufficient for his abſolution, it would not deign to diſcover itſelf to him. At the diſſolution of the monaſtery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the ſecret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it in a vial, one ſide of which conſiſted of thin and tranſparent cryſtal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were ſure to ſhew him the dark ſide of the vial till maſſes and offerings had expiated his offences; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhauſted, they made him happy by turning the vial.[p]

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of 'the Rood of Grace.' The lips, and eyes, and head, of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilſey biſhop of Rocheſter broke the crucifix at St. Paul's croſs, and ſhewed to the whole people the ſprings and wheels by which it had been ſecretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces; and, by a cruel refinement in vengeance, it was em-

ployed as fuel to burn friar Foreſt,[q] who was puniſhed for denying the ſupremacy, and for ſome pretended hereſies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of ſilver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but, as the king's commiſſioners refuſed to pay the debt, people made themſelves merry with the poor creditor on account of his pledge.

But, of all the inſtruments of ancient ſuperſtition, no one was ſo zealouſly deſtroyed as the ſhrine of Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This ſaint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account alſo the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb; and numberleſs were the miracles which they pretended his reliques wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raiſed his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his tranſlation, was a general holiday. Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honour, which laſted fifteen days; plenary indulgences were then granted to all that viſited his tomb; and a hundred thouſand pilgrims have been regiſtered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the virgin. At God's altar, for inſtance, there were offered in one year three pounds two ſhillings and ſix pence; at the virgin's, ſixty-three pounds five ſhillings and ſix pence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve ſhillings and three pence. But next year the diſproportion was ſtill greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the virgin's gained only four pounds one ſhilling and eight pence; but St. Thomas had got, for his ſhare, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds ſix ſhillings and three pence.[r] Lewis VII of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had beſtowed on the ſhrine a jewel, eſteemed the richeſt in

CASTLE ACRE PRIORY

Chriſtendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a ſaint of this character muſt appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich ſhrine dedicated to St. Thomas; he made the ſaint himſelf be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor; he ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the calendar; the office for his feſtival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the aſhes to be thrown in the air.

On the whole, the king at different times ſuppreſſed ſix hundred and forty-five monaſteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a ſeat in parliament. Ninety colleges were demoliſhed in ſeveral counties; two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hoſpitals. The whole revenue of theſe eſtabliſhments amounted to one hundred and ſixty-one thouſand one hundred pounds.[s] It is worthy of obſervation that all the lands and poſſeſſions and revenue of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; ſo that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the leſſer monaſteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a ſum vaſtly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were uſually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themſelves as a ſpecies of proprietors, took always care to renew their leaſes before they expired.[t]

Great murmurs were every where excited on account of theſe violences; and men much queſtioned whether priors and monks, who were only truſtees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their eſtates. In order to reconcile the people to ſuch mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occaſion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the

abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government.[u] While ſuch topics were employed to appeaſe the populace, Henry took an effectual method of intereſting the nobility and gentry in the ſucceſs of his meaſures;[x] he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or ſold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very diſadvantageous terms. He was ſo profuſe in theſe liberalities, that he is ſaid to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent, as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate.[y] He alſo ſettled penſions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly penſion of eight marks. He erected ſix new biſhoprics; Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Gloceſter; of which five ſubſiſt at this day. And, by all theſe means of expenſe and diſſipation, the profit which the king reaped by the ſeizure of church lands fell much ſhort of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreſeen ſome years before it happened, the monks had taken care to ſecrete moſt of their ſtock, furniture, and plate; ſo that the ſpoils of the great monaſteries bore not in theſe reſpects any proportion to thoſe of the leſſer.

Beſide the lands poſſeſſed by the monaſteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a conſiderable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and theſe were alſo at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means paſſed into the hands of laymen: an abuſe which many zealous churchmen regarded as the moſt criminal ſacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their eaſe in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and ſtated expenſe of the houſe. We read of the abbey of Chertſey in Surrey, which poſſeſſed ſeven hundred and forty-four pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furneſe in the county of Lincoln

was valued at nine hundred and ſixty pounds a year, and contained about thirty.[z] In order to diſſipate their revenues, and ſupport popularity, the monks lived in a hoſpitable manner; and, beſides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen who paſſed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely ſubſiſted at the tables of the friars. By this hoſpitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurſeries of idleneſs: but the king, not to give offence by too ſudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to ſupport the ancient hoſpitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very ſhort time.

It is eaſy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all theſe acts of violence was received at Rome; and how much the eccleſiaſtics of that court, who had ſo long kept the world in ſubjection by high ſounding epithets, and by holy execrations, would now vent their rhetoric againſt the character and conduct of Henry. The pope was at laſt incited to publiſh the bull which had been paſſed againſt that monarch; and in a public manner he delivered over his ſoul to the devil, and his dominions to the firſt invader. Libels were diſperſed, in which he was anew compared to the moſt furious perſecutors in antiquity; and the preference was now given to their ſide. He had declared war with the dead, whom the pagans themſelves reſpected; was at open hoſtility with heaven; and had engaged in profeſſed enmity with the whole hoſt of ſaints and angels. Above all, he was often reproached with his reſemblance to the emperor Julian, whom it was ſaid he imitated in his apoſtaſy and learning, though he fell ſhort of him in morals. Henry could diſtinguiſh in ſome of theſe libels the ſtyle and animoſity of his kinſman Pole; and he was thence incited to vent his rage by every poſſible expedient on that famous cardinal.

CARDINAL POLE.

REGINALD de la Pole, or Reginald Pole, was deſcended from the royal family, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave, in early youth, indications of that fine genius and generous diſpoſition by which during his whole life he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed; and Henry, having conceived great friendſhip for him, intended to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities; and, as a pledge of future favours, he conferred on him the deanery of Exeter,[a] the better to ſupport him in his education. Pole was carrying on his ſtudies in the univerſity of Paris at the time when the king ſolicited the ſuffrages of that learned body in favour of his divorce; but, though applied to by the Engliſh agent, he declined taking any part in the affair. Henry bore this neglect with more temper than was natural to him; and he appeared unwilling, on that account, to renounce all friendſhip with a perſon whoſe virtues and talents he hoped would prove uſeful as well as ornamental to his court and kingdom. He allowed him ſtill to poſſeſs his deanery, and gave him permiſſion to finiſh his ſtudies at Padua; he even paid him ſome court, in order to bring him into his meaſures; and wrote to him while in that univerſity, deſiring him to give his opinion freely with regard to the late meaſures taken in England for aboliſhing the papal authority. Pole had now contracted an intimate friendſhip with all perſons eminent for dignity or merit in Italy; Sadolet, Bembo, and other revivers of true taſte and learning; and he was moved by theſe connexions, as well as by religious zeal, to forget in ſome reſpect the duty which he owed to Henry, his benefactor and his ſovereign. He replied by writing a treatiſe 'of the unity of the church,' in which he inveighed againſt the king's ſupremacy, his

divorce, his ſecond marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the Imperial family and to the catholic cauſe. Henry, though provoked beyond meaſure at this outrage, diſſembled his reſentment; and he ſent a meſſage to Pole, deſiring him to return to England, in order to explain certain paſſages in his book, which he found ſomewhat obſcure and difficult. Pole was on his guard againſt this inſidious invitation; and was determined to remain in Italy, where he was univerſally beloved.

The pope and emperor thought themſelves obliged to provide for a man of Pole's eminence and dignity, who in ſupport of their cauſe had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. He was created a cardinal; and, though he took not higher orders than thoſe of a deacon, he was ſent legate into Flanders about the year 1536.[b] Henry was ſenſible that Pole's chief intention, in chooſing that employment, was to foment the mutinous diſpoſition of the Engliſh catholics; and he therefore remonſtrated in ſo vigorous a manner with the queen of Hungary, regent of the Low Countries, that ſhe diſmiſſed the legate without allowing him to exerciſe his functions. The enmity which he bore to Pole was now as open as it was violent; and the cardinal, on his part, kept no farther meaſures in his intrigues againſt Henry. He is even ſuſpected of having aſpired to the crown by means of a marriage with the lady Mary; and the king was every day more alarmed by informations which he received of the correſpondence maintained in England by that fugitive. Courtney, marquis of Exeter, had entered into a conſpiracy with him; ſir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny; ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of horſe and knight of the garter; Henry de la Pole, lord Montacute; and ſir Geoffrey de la Pole, brothers to the cardinal. Theſe perſons were indicted, and tried and convicted before lord Audley, who preſided in the

trial as high ſteward. They were all executed except ſir Geoffrey de la Pole, who was pardoned; and he owed this grace to his having firſt carried to the king ſecret intelligence of the conſpiracy. We know little concerning the juſtice or iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt theſe men: we only know that the condemnation of a man who was at that time proſecuted by the court forms no preſumption of his guilt; though, as no hiſtorian of credit mentions in the preſent caſe any complaint occaſioned by theſe trials, we may preſume that ſufficient evidence was produced againſt the marquis of Exeter and his aſſociates.[c]

CHAPTER XXXII.

HENRY VIII.

DISPUTATION WITH LAMBERT....A PARLIAMENT....LAW OF THE SIX ARTICLES....PROCLAMATIONS MADE EQUAL TO LAWS.... KING'S PROJECTS OF MARRIAGE....HE MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES ....A PARLIAMENT....FALL OF CROMWELL....HIS EXECUTION.... KING'S DIVORCE FROM ANNE OF CLEVES....HIS MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE HOWARD....STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND....DISCOVERY OF THE QUEEN'S DISSOLUTE LIFE....A PARLIAMENT.... ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE rough hand of Henry ſeemed well adapted for rending aſunder thoſe bands by which the ancient ſuperſtition had faſtened itſelf on the kingdom; and, though, after renouncing the pope's ſupremacy, and ſuppreſſing monaſteries, moſt of the political ends of reformation were already attained, few people expected that he would ſtop at thoſe innovations. The ſpirit of oppoſition, it was thought, would carry him to the utmoſt extremities againſt the church of Rome, and lead him to declare war againſt the whole doctrine and worſhip, as well as diſcipline, of that mighty hierarchy. He had formerly appealed from the pope to a general council; but now, when a general council

was ſummoned to meet at Mantua, he previouſly renounced all ſubmiſſion to it, as ſummoned by the pope, and lying entirely under ſubjection to that ſpiritual uſurper. He engaged his clergy to make a declaration to the like purpoſe; and he had preſcribed to them many other deviations from ancient tenets and practices. Cranmer took advantage of every opportunity to carry him on in this courſe; and, while queen Jane lived, who favoured the reformers, he had, by means of her inſinuation and addreſs, been ſucceſsful in his endeavours. After her death Gardiner, who was returned from his embaſſy to France, kept the king more in ſuſpenſe; and, by feigning an unlimited ſubmiſſion to his will, was frequently able to guide him to his own purpoſes. Fox biſhop of Hereford had ſupported Cranmer in his ſchemes for a more thorough reformation; but his death had made way for the promotion of Bonner, who, though he had hitherto ſeemed a furious enemy to the court of Rome, was determined to ſacrifice every thing to preſent intereſt, and had joined the confederacy of Gardiner and the partiſans of the old religion. Gardiner himſelf, it was believed, had ſecretly entered into meaſures with the pope, and even with the emperor; and, in concert with theſe powers, he endeavoured to preſerve, as much as poſſible, the ancient faith and worſhip.

Henry was ſo much governed by paſſion, that nothing could have retarded his animoſity and oppoſition againſt Rome but ſome other paſſion, which ſtopped his career, and raiſed him new objects of animoſity. Though he had gradually, ſince the commencement of his ſcruples with regard to his firſt marriage, been changing the tenets of that theological ſyſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs poſitive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unſhaken. And, though he ſtood alone in his opinion, the flattery of courtiers had ſo inflamed his ty-

rannical arrogance, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate, by his own particular ſtandard, the religious faith of the whole nation. The point on which he chiefly reſted his orthodoxy happened to be the real preſence; that very doctrine in which, among the numberleſs victories of ſuperſtition over common ſenſe, her triumph is the moſt ſignal and egregious. All departure from this principle he held to be heretical and deteſtable; and nothing he thought would be more honourable for him than, while he broke off all connexions with the Roman pontiff, to maintain in this eſſential article the purity of the catholic faith.

DISPUTATION WITH LAMBERT.

THERE was one Lambert,[d] a ſchoolmaſter in London, who had been queſtioned and confined for unſound opinions by archbiſhop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate and the change of counſels at court, he had been releaſed. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he ſtill continued to promulgate his tenets; and, having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards biſhop of Lincoln, defend in a ſermon the corporal preſence, he could not forbear expreſſing to Taylor his diſſent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten ſeveral heads. Taylor communicated the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained that, though the ſubſtance of bread and wine remained in the ſacrament, yet the real body and blood of Chriſt were there alſo, and were in a certain myſterious manner incorporated with the material elements. By the preſent laws and practice Barnes was no leſs expoſed to the ſtake than Lambert; yet ſuch was the perſecuting rage which prevailed, that he determined to bring this man to condign puniſhment, becauſe in their common departure from

the ancient faith he had dared to go one ſtep farther than himſelf. He engaged Taylor to accuſe Lambert before Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on theſe points, were obliged to conform themſelves to the ſtandard of orthodoxy eſtabliſhed by Henry. When Lambert was cited before theſe prelates they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were ſurpriſed when, inſtead of complying, he ventured to appeal to the king.

The king, not diſpleaſed with an opportunity where he could at once exert his ſupremacy and diſplay his learning, accepted the appeal; and reſolved to mix, in a very unfair manner, the magiſtrate with the diſputant. Public notice was given that he intended to enter the liſts with the ſchoolmaſter; ſcaffolds were erected in Weſtminſter-hall for the accommodation of the audience; Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the enſigns of majeſty; the prelates were placed on his right-hand, the temporal peers on his left; the judges and moſt eminent lawyers had a place aſſigned them behind the biſhops; the courtiers of greateſt diſtinction behind the peers; and in the midſt of this ſplendid aſſembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, who was required to defend his opinions againſt his royal antagoniſt.[e]

The biſhop of Chicheſter opened the conference, by ſaying that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his biſhop to the king; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic: that, though his majeſty had thrown off the uſurpation of the ſee of Rome; had diſincorporated ſome idle monks, who lived like drones in a beehive; had aboliſhed the idolatrous worſhip of images; had publiſhed the Bible in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of all his ſubjects; and had made ſome leſſer alterations, which every one muſt approve of; yet was he

determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to puniſh with the utmoſt ſeverity all departure from it: and that he had taken the preſent opportunity, before ſo learned and grave an audience, of convincing Lambert of his errors; but, if he ſtill continued obſtinate in them, he muſt expect the moſt condign puniſhment.[f]

After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king aſked Lambert, with a ſtern countenance, what his opinion was of Chriſt's corporeal preſence in the ſacrament of the altar; and, when Lambert began his reply with ſome compliment to his majeſty, he rejected the praiſe with diſdain and indignation. He afterwards preſſed Lambert with arguments drawn from ſcripture and the ſchoolmen. The audience applauded the force of his reaſoning, and the extent of his erudition; Cranmer ſeconded his proofs by ſome new topics; Gardiner entered the liſts as a ſupport to Cranmer; Tonſtal took up the argument after Gardiner; Stokeſley brought freſh aid to Tonſtal; ſix biſhops more appeared ſucceſſively in the field after Stokeſley; and the diſputation, if it deſerves the name, was prolonged for five hours; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded, browbeaten, and abaſhed, was at laſt reduced to ſilence. The king then, returning to the charge, aſked him whether he were convinced? and he propoſed, as a concluding argument, this intereſting queſtion, whether he were reſolved to live or die? Lambert, who poſſeſſed that courage which conſiſts in obſtinacy, replied that he caſt himſelf wholly on his majeſty's clemency. The king told him that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that were his final anſwer, he muſt expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, pronounced the ſentence againſt him.[g]

Lambert, whoſe vanity had probably incited him the more to perſevere on account of the greatneſs of this public appearance,

was not daunted by the terrors of the puniſhment to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the ſufferings of a man who had perſonally oppoſed the king as cruel as poſſible. He was burned at a ſlow fire; his legs and thighs were conſumed to the ſtumps; and, when there appeared no end of his torments, ſome of the guards, more merciful than the reſt, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was conſumed. While they were employed in this friendly office he cried aloud ſeveral times, 'None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt;' and theſe words were in his mouth when he expired.[h]

Some few days before this execution four Dutch anabaptiſts, three men and a woman, had faggots tied to their backs at Paul's croſs, and were burned in that manner. And a man and a woman of the ſame ſect and country were burned in Smithfield.[i]

A PARLIAMENT. 1539.

It was the unhappy fate of the Engliſh during this age that, when they laboured under any grievance, they had not the ſatisfaction of expecting redreſs from parliament; on the contrary, they had reaſon to dread each meeting of that aſſembly, and were then ſure of having tyranny converted into law, and aggravated, perhaps, with ſome circumſtance which the arbitrary prince and his miniſters had not hitherto deviſed, or did not think proper of themſelves to carry into execution. This abject ſervility never appeared more conſpicuouſly than in a new parliament, which the king now aſſembled, and which, if he had been ſo pleaſed, might have been the laſt that ever ſat in England. But he found them too uſeful inſtruments of dominion ever to entertain thoughts of giving them a total excluſion.

The chancellor opened the parliament by informing the houſe of lords that it was his majeſty's earneſt deſire to extirpate from his kingdom all diverſity of opinion in matters of religion; and, as this undertaking was, he owned, important and arduous, he deſired them to chooſe a committee from among themſelves, who might draw up certain articles of faith, and communicate them afterwards to the parliament. The lords named the vicar-general, Cromwell, now created a peer, the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the biſhops of Durham, Carliſle, Worceſter, Bath and Wells, Bangor, and Ely. The houſe might have ſeen what a hopeful taſk they had undertaken: this ſmall committee itſelf was agitated with ſuch diverſity of opinion that it could come to no concluſion. The duke of Norfolk then moved in the houſe, that, ſince there were no hopes of having a report from the committee, the articles of faith intended to be eſtabliſhed ſhould be reduced to ſix; and a new committee be appointed to draw an act with regard to them. As this peer was underſtood to ſpeak the ſenſe of the king, his motion was immediately complied with; and, after a ſhort prorogation, the bill of the ſix articles, or the bloody bill, as the proteſtants juſtly termed it, was introduced, and, having paſſed the two houſes, received the royal aſſent.

LAW OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

In this law the doctrine of the real preſence was eſtabliſhed, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity, the utility of private maſſes, the celibacy of the clergy, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion. The denial of the firſt article with regard to the real preſence ſubjected the perſon to death by fire, and to the ſame forfeiture as in caſes of treaſon, and admitted not the privilege of abjuring; an unheard of ſeve-

rity, and unknown to the inquiſition itſelf. The denial of any of the other five articles, even though recanted, was puniſhable by the forfeiture of goods and chattels, and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; an obſtinate adherence to error, or a relapſe, was adjudged to be felony, and puniſhable with death. The marriage of prieſts was ſubjected to the ſame puniſhment. Their commerce with women was, on the firſt offence, forfeiture and impriſonment; on the ſecond, death. The abſtaining from confeſſion, and from receiving the euchariſt at the accuſtomed times, ſubjected the perſon to fine and to impriſonment during the king's pleaſure; and, if the criminal perſevered after conviction, he was puniſhable by death and forfeiture, as in caſes of felony.[k] Commiſſioners were to be appointed by the king for inquiring into theſe hereſies and irregular practices, and the criminals were to be tried by a jury.

The king, in framing this law, laid his oppreſſive hand on both parties; and even the catholics had reaſon to complain that the friars and nuns, though diſmiſſed their convent, ſhould be capriciouſly reſtrained to the practice of celibacy:[l] but, as the proteſtants were chiefly expoſed to the ſeverity of the ſtatute, the miſery of adverſaries, according to the uſual maxims of party, was regarded by the adherents to the ancient religion as their own proſperity and triumph. Cranmer had the courage to oppoſe this bill in the houſe; and, though the king deſired him to abſent himſelf, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance.[m] Henry was accuſtomed to Cranmer's freedom and ſincerity; and, being convinced of the general rectitude of his intentions, gave him an unuſual indulgence in this particular, and never allowed even a whiſper againſt him. That prelate, however, was now obliged, in obedience to the ſtatute, to diſmiſs his wife, the niece of Oſiander, a famous divine of Nuremberg;[n] and Henry, ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion,

ſhewed him his former countenance and favour. Latimer and Shaxton threw up their biſhoprics on account of the law, and were committed to priſon.

PROCLAMATIONS MADE EQUAL TO LAWS.

THE parliament, having thus reſigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire ſurrender of their civil; and, without ſcruple or deliberation, they made by one act a total ſubverſion of the Engliſh conſtitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the ſame force as to a ſtatute enacted by parliament; and, to render the matter worſe, if poſſible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority. The preamble contains, that the king had formerly ſet forth ſeveral proclamations, which froward perſons had wilfully contemned, not conſidering what a king by his royal power may do; that this licenſe might encourage offenders not only to diſobey the laws of Almighty God, but alſo to diſhonour the king's moſt royal majeſty, who may full ill bear it; that ſudden emergencies often occur which require ſpeedy remedies, and cannot await the ſlow aſſembling and deliberations of parliament; and that, though the king was empowered, by his authority derived from God, to conſult the public good on theſe occaſions, yet the oppoſition of refractory ſubjects might puſh him to extremity and violence: for theſe reaſons the parliament, that they might remove all occaſion of doubt, aſcertained by a ſtatute this prerogative of the crown, and enabled his majeſty, with the advice of his council, to ſet forth proclamations enjoining obedience under whatever pains and penalties he ſhould think proper; and theſe proclamations were to have the force of perpetual laws.[o]

What proves either a ſtupid or a wilful blindneſs in the parliament is, that they pretended, even after this ſtatute, to maintain ſome limitations in the government; and they enacted that no proclamation ſhould deprive any perſon of his lawful poſſeſſions, liberties, inheritances, privileges, franchiſes; nor yet infringe any common law or laudable cuſtom of the realm. They did not conſider that no penalty could be inflicted upon the diſobeying of proclamations without invading ſome liberty or property of the ſubject; and that the power of enacting new laws joined to the diſpenſing power, then exerciſed by the crown, amounted to a full legiſlative authority. It is true the kings of England had always been accuſtomed from their own authority to iſſue proclamations, and to exact obedience to them; and this prerogative was, no doubt, a ſtrong ſymptom of abſolute government: but ſtill there was a difference between a power which was exerciſed on a particular emergence, and which muſt be juſtified by the preſent expedience or neceſſity, and an authority conferred by a poſitive ſtatute, which could no longer admit of control or limitation.

Could any act be more oppoſite to the ſpirit of liberty than this law, it would have been another of the ſame parliament. They paſſed an act of attainder not only againſt the marquis of Exeter, the lords Montacute, Darcy, Huſſey, and others, who had been legally tried and condemned; but alſo againſt ſome perſons of the higheſt quality, who had never been accuſed, or examined, or convicted. The violent hatred which Henry bore to cardinal Pole had extended itſelf to all his friends and relations; and his mother in particular, the counteſs of Saliſbury, had on that account become extremely obnoxious to him. She was alſo accuſed of having employed her authority with her tenants to hinder them from reading the new tranſlation of the Bible; of having procured bulls from Rome, which it is ſaid had

been ſeen at Coudray, her country ſeat; and of having kept a correſpondence with her ſon, the cardinal: but Henry found, either that theſe offences could not be proved, or that they would not by law be ſubjected to ſuch ſevere puniſhments as he deſired to inflict upon her. He reſolved, therefore, to proceed in a more ſummary and more tyrannical manner; and for that purpoſe he ſent Cromwell, who was but too obſequious to his will, to aſk the judges whether the parliament could attaint a perſon who was forth-coming without giving him any trial, or citing him to appear before them?[p] The judges replied that it was a dangerous queſtion, and that the high court of parliament ought to give the example to inferior courts of proceeding according to juſtice; no inferior court could act in that arbitrary manner, and they thought that the parliament never would. Being preſſed to give a more explicit anſwer, they replied that, if a perſon were attainted in that manner, the attainder could never afterwards be brought in queſtion, but muſt remain good in law. Henry learned by this deciſion that ſuch a method of proceeding, though directly contrary to all the principles of equity, was yet practicable; and, this being all he was anxious to know, he reſolved to employ it againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury. Cromwell ſhewed to the houſe of peers a banner, on which were embroidered the five wounds of Chriſt, the ſymbol choſen by the northern rebels; and this banner, he affirmed, was found in the counteſs's houſe.[q] No other proof ſeems to have been produced in order to aſcertain her guilt: the parliament, without farther inquiry, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt her; and they involved in the ſame bill, without any better proof, as far as appears, Gertrude marchioneſs of Exeter, ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and ſir Thomas Dingley. Theſe two gentlemen were executed; the marchioneſs was pardoned, and ſurvived the king; the counteſs received a reprieve.

The only beneficial act paſſed this ſeſſion was that by which the parliament confirmed the ſurrender of the monaſteries; yet even this act contains much falſehood, much tyranny; and, were it not that all private rights muſt ſubmit to public intereſt, much injuſtice and iniquity. The ſcheme of engaging the abbots to ſurrender their monaſteries had been conducted, as may eaſily be imagined, with many invidious circumſtances; arts of all kinds had been employed; every motive that could work on the frailty of human nature had been ſet before them; and it was with great difficulty that theſe dignified conventuals were brought to make a conceſſion, which moſt of them regarded as deſtructive of their intereſts,[r] as well as ſacrilegious and criminal in itſelf. Three abbots had ſhewn more conſtancy than the reſt; the abbots of Colcheſter, Reading, and Glaſtenbury; and, in order to puniſh them for their oppoſition, and make them an example to others, means had been found to convict them of treaſon; they had periſhed by the hands of the executioner, and the revenue of the convents had been forfeited.[s] Beſides, though none of theſe violences had taken place, the king knew that a ſurrender made by men who were only tenants for life would not bear examination; and he was therefore reſolved to make all ſure by his uſual expedient, an act of parliament. In the preamble to this act the parliament aſſerts that all the ſurrenders made by the abbots had been 'without conſtraint, of their own accord, and according to due courſe of common law;' and, in conſequence, the two houſes confirm the ſurrenders, and ſecure the property of the abbey lands to the king and his ſucceſſors for ever.[t] It is remarkable that all the mitred abbots ſtill ſat in the houſe of peers, and that none of them made any proteſts againſt this injurious ſtatute.

In this ſeſſion the rank of all the great officers of ſtate was fixed; Cromwell, as vicegerent, had the precedency aſſigned him

above all of them. It was thought ſingular that a blackſmith's ſon, for he was no other, ſhould have place next the royal family; and that a man poſſeſſed of no manner of literature ſhould be ſet at the head of the church.

As ſoon as the act of the ſix articles had paſſed, the catholics were extremely vigilant in informing againſt offenders; and no leſs than five hundred perſons were in a little time thrown into priſon. But Cromwell, who had not had intereſt to prevent that act, was able for the preſent to elude its execution. Seconded by the duke of Suffolk and chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonſtrated againſt the cruelty of puniſhing ſo many delinquents; and he obtained permiſſion to ſet them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humour gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No ſooner had Henry paſſed this law, which ſeemed to inflict ſo deep a wound on the reformers, than he granted a general permiſſion for every one to have the new tranſlation of the Bible in his family; a conceſſion regarded by that party as an important victory.

HENRY'S PROJECTS OF MARRIAGE.

But, as Henry was obſerved to be much governed by his wives while he retained his fondneſs for them, the final prevalence of either party ſeemed much to depend on the choice of the future queen. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the moſt beloved of all his wives, he began to think of a new marriage. He firſt caſt his eye towards the ducheſs dowager of Milan, niece to the emperor; and he made propoſals for that alliance. But, meeting with difficulties, he was carried by his friendſhip for Francis rather to think of a French princeſs. He demanded the ducheſs dowager of Longueville, daughter of the duke of Guiſe, a prince of the houſe of Lorraine; but Francis

told him that the lady was already betrothed to the king of Scotland. The king, however, would not take a refuſal; he had ſet his heart extremely on the match; the information which he had received of the ducheſs's accompliſhments and beauty, had prepoſſeſſed him in her favour; and, having privately ſent over Meautys to examine her perſon, and get certain intelligence of her conduct, the accounts which that agent brought him ſerved farther to inflame his deſires. He learned that ſhe was big made; and he thought her on that account the more proper match for him who was now become ſomewhat corpulent. The pleaſure too of mortifying his nephew, whom he did not love, was a farther incitement to his proſecution of this match; and he inſiſted that Francis ſhould give him the preference to the king of Scots. But Francis, though ſenſible that the alliance of England was of much greater importance to his intereſts, would not affront his friend and ally; and, to prevent farther ſolicitation, he immediately ſent the princeſs to Scotland. Not to ſhock, however, Henry's humour, Francis made him an offer of Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the duke of Vendome; but, as the king was informed that James had formerly rejected this princeſs, he would not hear any farther of ſuch a propoſal. The French monarch then offered him the choice of the two younger ſiſters of the queen of Scots; and he aſſured him that they were nowiſe inferior either in merit or ſize to their eldeſt ſiſter, and that one of them was even ſuperior in beauty. The king was as ſcrupulous with regard to the perſon of his wives as if his heart had been really ſuſceptible of a delicate paſſion; and he was unwilling to truſt any relations, or even pictures, with regard to this important particular. He propoſed to Francis that they ſhould have a conference at Calais, on pretence of buſineſs; and that this monarch ſhould bring along with him the two princeſſes of Guiſe, together with the fineſt ladies of quality in France,

that he might make a choice among them. But the gallant ſpirit of Francis was ſhocked with the propoſal; he was impreſſed with too much regard, he ſaid, for the fair ſex, to carry ladies of the firſt quality like geldings to a market, there to be choſen or rejected by the humour of the purchaſer.[u] Henry would hearken to none of theſe niceties, but ſtill inſiſted on his propoſal; which, however, notwithſtanding Francis's earneſt deſire of obliging him, was finally rejected.

HE MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES.

THE king then began to turn his thoughts towards a German alliance; and, as the princes of the Smalcaldic league were extremely diſguſted with the emperor on account of his perſecuting their religion, he hoped, by matching himſelf into one of their families, to renew a connexion which he regarded as ſo advantageous to him. Cromwell joyfully ſeconded this intention; and propoſed to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of that name, had great intereſt among the Lutheran princes, and whoſe ſiſter, Sibylla, was married to the elector of Saxony, the head of the proteſtant league. A flattering picture of the princeſs by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and, after ſome negociation, the marriage, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the elector of Saxony, was at laſt concluded, and Anne was ſent over to England. The king, impatient to be ſatisfied with regard to the perſon of his bride, came privately to Rocheſter, and got a ſight of her. He found her big indeed, and tall, as he could wiſh; but utterly deſtitute both of beauty and grace; very unlike the pictures and repreſentations which he had received: he ſwore ſhe was a great Flanders mare, and declared that he never could poſſibly bear her any affection. The matter was worſe when he found that ſhe could ſpeak no

language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant, and that the charms of her converſation were not likely to compenſate for the homelineſs of her perſon. He returned to Greenwich very melancholy; and he much lamented his hard fate to Cromwell, as well as to lord Ruſſel, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Anthony Denny. This laſt gentleman, in order to give him comfort, told him that his misfortune was common to him with all kings, who could not, like private perſons, chooſe for themſelves; but muſt receive their wives from the judgment and fancy of others.

It was the ſubject of debate among the king's counſellors whether the marriage could not yet be diſſolved, and the princeſs be ſent back to her own country. Henry's ſituation ſeemed at that time very critical. After the ten years truce concluded between the emperor and the king of France, a good underſtanding was thought to have taken place between theſe rival monarchs; and ſuch marks of union appeared as gave great jealouſy to the court of England. The emperor, who knew the generous nature of Francis, even put a confidence in him, which is rare to that degree among great princes. An inſurrection had been raiſed in the Low Countries by the inhabitants of Ghent, and ſeemed to threaten the moſt dangerous conſequences. Charles, who reſided at that time in Spain, reſolved to go in perſon to Flanders, in order to appeaſe thoſe diſorders; but he found great difficulties in chooſing the manner of his paſſing thither. The road by Italy and Germany was tedious; the voyage through the channel dangerous, by reaſon of the Engliſh naval power: he aſked Francis's permiſſion to paſs through his dominions; and he intruſted himſelf into the hands of a rival whom he had ſo mortally offended. The French monarch received him at Paris with great magnificence and courteſy; and, though prompted both by revenge and intereſt, as well as by the advice of his

miſtreſs and favourites, to make advantage of the preſent opportunity, he conducted the emperor ſafely out of his dominions; and would not ſo much as ſpeak to him of buſineſs during his abode in France, leſt his demands ſhould bear the air of violence upon his royal gueſt.

Henry, who was informed of all theſe particulars, believed that an entire and cordial union had taken place between theſe princes, and that their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England.* An alliance with the German princes ſeemed now more than ever requiſite for his intereſt and ſafety; and he knew that, if he ſent back the princeſs of Cleves, ſuch an affront would be highly reſented by her friends and family. He was therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding his averſion to her, to complete the marriage; and he told Cromwell that, ſince matters had gone ſo far, he muſt put his neck into the yoke. Cromwell, who knew how much his own intereſts were concerned in this affair, was very anxious to learn from the king, next morning after the marriage, whether he now liked his ſpouſe any better. The king told him that he hated her worſe than ever, and that her perſon was more diſguſting on a near approach: he was reſolved never to meddle with her, and even ſuſpected her not to be a true maid; a point about which he entertained an extreme delicacy. He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even ſeemed to repoſe his uſual confidence in Cromwell; but, though he exerted this command over himſelf, a diſcontent lay lurking in his breaſt, and was ready to burſt out on the firſt opportunity.

A PARLIAMENT. 1540.

A SESSION of parliament was held; and none of the abbots were now allowed a place in the houſe of peers. The king, by the

mouth of the chancellor, complained to the parliament of the great diverſity of religions which ſtill prevailed among his ſubjects; a grievance, he affirmed, which ought the leſs to be endured becauſe the ſcriptures were now publiſhed in Engliſh, and ought univerſally to be the ſtandard of belief to all mankind. But he had appointed, he ſaid, ſome biſhops and divines to draw up a liſt of tenets to which his people were to aſſent; and he was determined that Chriſt, the doctrine of Chriſt, and the truth, ſhould have the victory. The king ſeems to have expected more effect in aſcertaining truth, from this new book of his doctors, than had enſued from the publication of the ſcriptures. Cromwell, as vicar-general, made alſo, in the king's name, a ſpeech to the upper houſe; and the peers in return beſtowed great flattery on him, and in particular ſaid that he was worthy, by his deſert, to be vicar-general of the univerſe. That miniſter ſeemed to be no leſs in his maſter's good graces; he received, ſoon after the ſitting of the parliament, the title of earl of Eſſex, and was inſtalled knight of the garter.

There remained only one religious order in England, the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem, or the knights of Malta, as they are commonly called. This order, partly eccleſiaſtical, partly military, had by their valour done great ſervice to Chriſtendom; and had very much retarded at Jeruſalem, Rhodes, and Malta, the rapid progreſs of the barbarians. During the general ſurrender of the religious houſes in England they had exerted their ſpirit, and had obſtinately refuſed to yield up their revenues to the king; and Henry, who would endure no ſociety that profeſſed obedience to the pope, was obliged to have recourſe to parliament for the diſſolution of this order. Their revenues were large, and formed an addition nowiſe contemptible to the many acquiſitions which the king had already made. But he had very ill huſbanded the great revenue acquired by the plunder of the

church; his profuſe generoſity diſſipated faſter than his rapacity could ſupply; and the parliament was ſurpriſed this ſeſſion to find a demand made upon them of four tenths, and a ſubſidy of one ſhilling in the pound during two years: ſo ill were the public expectations anſwered, that the crown was never more to require any ſupply from the people. The commons, though laviſh of their liberty, and of the blood of their fellow ſubjects, were extremely frugal of their money; and it was not without difficulty ſo ſmall a grant could be obtained by this abſolute and dreaded monarch. The convocation gave the king four ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in two years. The pretext for theſe grants was the great expenſe which Henry had undergone for the defence of the realm, in building forts along the ſea-coaſt, and in equipping a navy. As he had at preſent no ally on the continent in whom he repoſed much confidence, he relied only on his domeſtic ſtrength, and was on that account obliged to be more expenſive in his preparations againſt the danger of an invaſion.

FALL OF CROMWELL.

THE king's favour to Cromwell, and his acquieſcence in the marriage with Anne of Cleves, were both of them deceitful appearances: his averſion to the queen ſecretly increaſed every day; and, having at laſt broken all reſtraint, it prompted him at once to ſeek the diſſolution of a marriage ſo odious to him, and to involve his miniſter in ruin who had been the innocent author of it. The fall of Cromwell was haſtened by other cauſes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of ſuch low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his ſtation of vicar-general, but had engroſſed many of the other conſiderable offices of the crown: beſides enjoying that commiſſion, which gave him a high

and almoſt abſolute authority over the clergy, and even over the laity, he was privy ſeal, chamberlain, and maſter of the wards; he had alſo obtained the order of the garter, a dignity which had ever been conferred only on men of illuſtrious families, and which ſeemed to be profaned by its being communicated to ſo mean a perſon. The people were averſe to him as the ſuppoſed author of the violence on the monaſteries, eſtabliſhments which were ſtill revered and beloved by the commonalty. The catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the proteſtants, obſerving his exterior concurrence with all the perſecutions exerciſed againſt them, were inclined to bear him as little favour, and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. And the king, who found that great clamours had on all hands ariſen againſt the adminiſtration, was not diſpleaſed to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and he hoped by making ſo eaſy a ſacrifice to regain the affections of his ſubjects.

But there was another cauſe which ſuddenly ſet all theſe motives in action, and brought about an unexpected revolution in the miniſtry. The king had fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, being determined to gratify this new paſſion, he could find no expedient, but by procuring a divorce from his preſent conſort, to raiſe Catherine to his bed and throne. The duke, who had long been engaged in enmity with Cromwell, made the ſame uſe of her inſinuations to ruin this miniſter that he had formerly done of Anne Boleyn's againſt Wolſey; and, when all engines were prepared, he obtained a commiſſion from the king to arreſt Cromwell at the council table, on an accuſation of high treaſon, and to commit him to the tower. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed againſt him; and the houſe of peers thought proper, without trial, examination, or evidence, to condemn to death a

man whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the univerſe. The houſe of commons paſſed the bill, though not without ſome oppoſition. Cromwell was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon; but the proofs of his treaſonable practices are utterly improbable, and even abſolutely ridiculous.[y] The only circumſtance of his conduct, by which he ſeems to have merited this fate, was his being the inſtrument of the king's tyranny in conducting like iniquitous bills in the preceding ſeſſion againſt the counteſs of Saliſbury and others.

EXECUTION OF CROMWELL.

Cromwell endeavoured to ſoften the king by the moſt humble ſupplications; but all to no purpoſe: it was not the practice of that prince to ruin his miniſters and favourites by halves; and, though the unhappy priſoner once wrote to him in ſo moving a ſtrain as even to draw tears from his eyes, he hardened himſelf againſt all movements of pity, and refuſed his pardon. The concluſion of Cromwell's letter ran in theſe words: 'I, a moſt woful priſoner, am ready to ſubmit to death when it ſhall pleaſe God and your majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh incites me to call to your grace for mercy and pardon of mine offences. Written at the tower with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your highneſs's moſt miſerable priſoner, and poor ſlave, Thomas Cromwell.' And a little below, 'Moſt gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy,[z] mercy.' When brought to the place of execution he avoided all earneſt proteſtations of his innocence, and all complaints againſt the ſentence pronounced upon him. He knew that Henry would reſent on his ſon thoſe ſymptoms of oppoſition to his will, and that his death alone would not terminate that monarch's vengeance. He was a man of prudence, induſtry, and abilities; worthy of a better maſter and of a better fate. Though

raiſed to the ſummit of power from a low origin, he betrayed no inſolence or contempt towards his inferiors; and was careful to remember all the obligations which, during his more humble fortune, he had owed to any one. He had ſerved as a private centinel in the Italian wars; when he received ſome good offices from a Lucqueſe merchant, who had entirely forgotten his perſon, as well as the ſervice which he had rendered him. Cromwell in his grandeur happened at London to caſt his eye on his benefactor, now reduced to poverty by misfortunes. He immediately ſent for him, reminded him of their ancient friendſhip, and by his grateful aſſiſtance reinſtated him in his former proſperity and opulence.[a]

KING'S DIVORCE FROM ANNE OF CLEVES.

THE meaſures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the ſame time with the bill of attainder againſt Cromwell. The houſe of peers, in conjunction with the commons, applied to the king by petition, deſiring that he would allow his marriage to be examined; and orders were immediately given to lay the matter before the convocation. Anne had formerly been contracted by her father to the duke of Lorraine; but ſhe, as well as the duke, were at that time under age, and the contract had been afterwards annulled by conſent of both parties. The king, however, pleaded this precontract as a ground of divorce; and he added two reaſons more, which may ſeem a little extraordinary; that when he eſpouſed Anne he had not inwardly given his conſent, and that he had not thought proper to conſummate the marriage. The convocation was ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and ſolemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen; the parliament ratified the deciſion of the clergy;[b] and the ſentence was ſoon after notified to the princeſs.

Anne was bleſt with a happy inſenſibility of temper, even in the points which the moſt nearly affect her ſex; and the king's averſion towards her, as well as his proſecution of the divorce, had never given her the leaſt uneaſineſs. She willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation with him; and, when he offered to adopt her as his ſiſter, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a ſettlement of three thouſand pounds a year upon her, ſhe accepted of the conditions, and gave her conſent to the divorce.[c] She even wrote to her brother (for her father was now dead) that ſhe had been very well uſed in England, and deſired him to live on good terms with the king. The only inſtance of pride which ſhe betrayed was, that ſhe refuſed to return to her own country after the affront which ſhe had received; and ſhe lived and died in England.

Notwithſtanding Anne's moderation, this incident produced a great coldneſs between the king and the German princes; but, as the ſituation of Europe was now much altered, Henry was the more indifferent about their reſentment. The cloſe intimacy which had taken place between Francis and Charles had ſubſiſted during a very ſhort time: the diſſimilarity of their characters ſoon renewed, with greater violence than ever, their former jealouſy and hatred. While Charles remained at Paris, Francis had been imprudently engaged, by his open temper, and by that ſatisfaction which a noble mind naturally feels in performing generous actions, to make, in confidence, ſome dangerous diſcoveries to that intereſted monarch; and, having now loſt all ſuſpicion of his rival, he hoped that the emperor and he, ſupporting each other, might neglect every other alliance. He not only communicated to his gueſt the ſtate of his negociations with ſultan Solyman and the Venetians, he alſo laid open the ſolicitations which he had received from the court of England

to enter into a confederacy againſt him.[d] Charles had no ſooner reached his own dominions than he ſhewed himſelf unworthy of the friendly reception which he had met with. He abſolutely refuſed to fulfil his promiſe, and put the duke of Orleans in poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe; he informed Solyman and the ſenate of Venice of the treatment which they had received from their ally; and he took care that Henry ſhould not be ignorant how readily Francis had abandoned his ancient friend, to whom he owed ſuch important obligations, and had ſacrificed him to a new confederate; he even poiſoned and miſrepreſented many things which the unſuſpecting heart of the French monarch had diſcloſed to him. Had Henry poſſeſſed true judgment and generoſity, this incident alone had been ſufficient to guide him in the choice of his ally. But his domineering pride carried him immediately to renounce the friendſhip of Francis, who had ſo unexpectedly given the preference to the emperor; and, as Charles invited him to a renewal of ancient amity, he willingly accepted of the offer; and, thinking himſelf ſecure in this alliance, he neglected the friendſhip both of France and of the German princes.

HIS MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE HOWARD.

THE new turn which Henry had taken with regard to foreign affairs was extremely agreeable to his catholic ſubjects; and, as it had perhaps contributed, among other reaſons, to the ruin of Cromwell, it made them entertain hopes of a final prevalence over their antagoniſts. The marriage of the king with Catherine Howard, which followed ſoon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was alſo regarded as a favourable incident to their party; and the ſubſequent events correſponded to their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardi-

ner, a furious perſecution commenced againſt the proteſtants; and the law of the ſix articles was executed with rigour. Dr. Barnes, who had been the cauſe of Lambert's execution, felt in his turn the ſeverity of the perſecuting ſpirit; and, by a bill which paſſed in parliament, he was, without trial, condemned to the flames, together with Jerome and Gerrard. He diſcuſſed theological queſtions even at the ſtake; and, as the diſpute between him and the ſheriff turned upon the invocation of ſaints, he ſaid that he doubted whether the ſaints could pray for us; but, if they could, he hoped in half an hour to be praying for the ſheriff and all the ſpectators. He next entreated the ſheriff to carry to the king his dying requeſt, which he fondly imagined would have authority with that monarch who had ſent him to the ſtake. The purport of his requeſt was, that Henry, beſides repreſſing ſuperſtitious ceremonies, ſhould be extremely vigilant in preventing fornication and common ſwearing.[e]

While Henry was exerting this violence againſt the proteſtants, he ſpared not the catholics who denied his ſupremacy; and a foreigner, at that time in England, had reaſon to ſay that thoſe who were againſt the pope were burned, and thoſe who were for him were hanged.[f] The king even diſplayed in an oſtentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to ſubjection, and infuſed terror into every breaſt. Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, had been carried to the place of execution on three hurdles; and along with them there was placed on each hurdle a catholic, who was alſo executed for his religion. Theſe catholics were Abel, Fetherſtone, and Powel, who declared that the moſt grievous part of their puniſhment was the being coupled to ſuch heretical miſcreants as ſuffered with them.[g]

Though the ſpirit of the Engliſh ſeemed to be totally ſunk under the deſpotic power of Henry, there appeared ſome ſymp-

toms of diſcontent: an inconſiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkſhire, headed by ſir John Nevil; but it was ſoon ſuppreſſed; and Nevil, with other ringleaders, was executed. The rebels were ſuppoſed to have been inſtigated by the intrigues of cardinal Pole; and the king was inſtantly determined to make the counteſs of Saliſbury, who already lay under ſentence of death, ſuffer for her ſon's offences. He ordered her to be carried to execution. And this venerable matron maintained ſtill, in theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances, the ſpirit of that long race of monarchs from whom ſhe was deſcended.[h] She refuſed to lay her head on the block, or ſubmit to a ſentence where ſhe had received no trial. She told the executioner that, if he would have her head, he muſt win it the beſt way he could: and thus, ſhaking her venerable grey locks, ſhe ran about the ſcaffold; and the executioner followed her with his ax, aiming many fruitleſs blows at her neck before he was able to give the fatal ſtroke. Thus periſhed the laſt of the line of Plantagenet, which with great glory, but ſtill greater crimes and misfortunes, had governed England for the ſpace of three hundred years. Lord Leonard Grey, a man who had formerly rendered ſervice to the crown, was alſo beheaded for treaſon ſoon after the counteſs of Saliſbury. We know little concerning the grounds of his proſecution.

The inſurrection in the north engaged Henry to make a progreſs thither, in order to quiet the minds of his people, to reconcile them to his government, and to aboliſh the ancient ſuperſtitions, to which thoſe parts were much addicted. He had alſo another motive for this journey: he purpoſed to have a conference at York with his nephew the king of Scotland, and, if poſſible, to cement a cloſe and indiſſoluble union with that kingdom.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND. 1541.

THE ſame ſpirit of religious innovation, which had ſeized other parts of Europe, had made its way into Scotland, and had begun, before this period, to excite the ſame jealouſies, fears, and perſecutions. About the year 1527 Patrick Hamilton, a young man of a noble family, having been created abbot of Ferne, was ſent abroad for his education; but had fallen into company with ſome reformers, and he returned into his own country very ill diſpoſed towards that church of which his birth and his merit entitled him to attain the higheſt dignities. The fervour of youth, and his zeal for novelty, made it impoſſible for him to conceal his ſentiments; and Campbel, prior of the Dominicans, who, under colour of friendſhip and a ſympathy in opinion, had inſinuated himſelf into his confidence, accuſed him before Beaton archbiſhop of St. Andrews. Hamilton was invited to St. Andrews, in order to maintain with ſome of the clergy a diſpute concerning the controverted points; and, after much reaſoning with regard to juſtification, free-will, original ſin, and other topics of that nature, the conference ended with their condemning Hamilton to be burned for his errors. The young man, who had been deaf to the inſinuations of ambition, was leſs likely to be ſhaken with the fears of death, while he propoſed to himſelf both the glory of bearing teſtimony to the truth, and the immediate reward attending his martyrdom. The people, who compaſſionated his youth, his virtue, and his noble birth, were much moved at the conſtancy of his end; and an incident which ſoon followed ſtill more confirmed them in their favourable ſentiments towards him. He had cited Campbel, who ſtill inſulted him at the ſtake, to anſwer before the judgment-ſeat of Chriſt; and, as that perſecutor, either aſtoniſhed with theſe events, or

overcome with remorſe, or, perhaps, ſeized caſually with a diſtemper, ſoon after loſt his ſenſes, and fell into a fever, of which he died, the people regarded Hamilton as a prophet as well as a martyr.[i]

Among the diſciples converted by Hamilton was one friar Forreſt, who became a zealous preacher; and who, though he did not openly diſcover his ſentiments, was ſuſpected to lean towards the new opinions. His dioceſan the biſhop of Dunkel enjoined him, when he met with a good epiſtle or good goſpel which favoured the liberties of holy church, to preach on it, and let the reſt alone. Forreſt replied that he had read both Old and New Teſtament, and had not found an ill epiſtle or ill goſpel in any part of them. The extreme attachment to the ſcriptures was regarded in thoſe days as a ſure characteriſtic of hereſy; and Forreſt was ſoon after brought to trial, and condemned to the flames. While the prieſts were deliberating on the place of his execution, a byſtander adviſed them to burn him in a cellar, for that the ſmoke of Mr. Patrick Hamilton had infected all thoſe on whom it blew.[k]

The clergy were at that time reduced to great difficulties, not only in Scotland, but all over Europe. As the reformers aimed at a total ſubverſion of ancient eſtabliſhments, which they repreſented as idolatrous, impious, deteſtable; the prieſts, who found both their honours and properties at ſtake, thought that they had a right to reſiſt, by every expedient, theſe dangerous invaders; and that the ſame ſimple principles of equity, which juſtified a man in killing a pirate or a robber, would acquit them for the execution of ſuch heretics. A toleration, though it is never acceptable to eccleſiaſtics, might, they ſaid, be admitted in other caſes; but ſeemed an abſurdity where fundamentals were ſhaken, and where the poſſeſſions and even the exiſtence of the eſtabliſhed clergy were brought in danger. But,

though the church was thus carried by policy, as well as inclination, to kindle the fires of perſecution, they found the ſucceſs of this remedy very precarious; and obſerved that the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by puniſhment, was apt to prove contagious on the compaſſionate minds of the ſpectators. The new doctrine, amidſt all the dangers to which it was expoſed, ſecretly ſpread itſelf every where; and the minds of men were gradually diſpoſed to a revolution in religion.

But the moſt dangerous ſymptom for the clergy in Scotland was, that the nobility, from the example of England, had caſt a wiſhful eye on the church revenues, and hoped, if a reformation took place, to enrich themſelves by the plunder of the eccleſiaſtics. James himſelf, who was very poor, and was ſomewhat inclined to magnificence, particularly in building, had been ſwayed by like motives; and began to threaten the clergy with the ſame fate that had attended them in the neighbouring country. Henry alſo never ceaſed exhorting his nephew to imitate his example; and, being moved both by the pride of making proſelytes, and the proſpect of ſecurity, ſhould Scotland embrace a cloſe union with him, he ſolicited the king of Scots to meet him at York; and he obtained a promiſe to that purpoſe.

The eccleſiaſtics were alarmed at this reſolution of James, and they employed every expedient in order to prevent the execution of it. They repreſented the danger of innovation; the pernicious conſequences of aggrandizing the nobility, already too powerful; the hazard of putting himſelf into the hands of the Engliſh, his hereditary enemies; the dependance on them which muſt enſue upon his loſing the friendſhip of France, and of all foreign powers. To theſe conſiderations they added the proſpect of immediate intereſt, by which they found the king to be much governed; they offered him a preſent gratuity of fifty thouſand pounds; they promiſed him that the church ſhould always be

ready to contribute to his ſupply; and they pointed out to him the confiſcation of heretics, as the means of filling his exchequer, and of adding a hundred thouſand pounds a year to the crown revenues.[l] The inſinuations of his new queen, to whom youth, beauty, and addreſs, had given a powerful influence over him, ſeconded all theſe reaſons; and James was at laſt engaged firſt to delay his journey, then to ſend excuſes to the king of England, who had already come to York in order to be preſent at the interview.[m]

THE QUEEN'S DISSOLUTE LIFE.

HENRY, vexed with the diſappointment, and enraged at the affront, vowed vengeance againſt his nephew; and he began, by permitting piracies at ſea and incurſions at land, to put his threats in execution. But he received ſoon after, in his own family, an affront to which he was much more ſenſible, and which touched him in a point where he always ſhewed an extreme delicacy. He had thought himſelf very happy in his new marriage; the agreeable perſon and diſpoſition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections; and he made no ſecret of his devoted attachment to her. He had even publicly, in his chapel, returned ſolemn thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal ſtate afforded him; and he directed the biſhop of Lincoln to compoſe a form of prayer for that purpoſe. But the queen's conduct very little merited this tenderneſs. One Laſcelles brought intelligence of her diſſolute life to Cranmer; and told him that his ſiſter, formerly a ſervant in the family of the old ducheſs of Norfolk, with whom Catherine was educated, had given him a particular account of her licentious manners. Derham and Mannoc, both of them ſervants to the ducheſs, had been admitted to her bed; and ſhe had even taken little care

to conceal her ſhame from the other ſervants of the family. The primate, ſtruck with this intelligence, which it was equally dangerous to conceal or to diſcover, communicated the matter to the earl of Hertford and to the chancellor. They agreed that the matter ſhould by no means be buried in ſilence; and the archbiſhop himſelf ſeemed the moſt proper perſon to diſcloſe it to the king. Cranmer, unwilling to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject, wrote a narrative of the whole, and conveyed it to Henry, who was infinitely aſtoniſhed at the intelligence. So confident was he of the fidelity of his conſort, that at firſt he gave no credit to the information; and he ſaid to the privy-ſeal, to lord Ruſſel high admiral, ſir Anthony Brown, and Wriotheſley, that he regarded the whole as a falſehood. Cranmer was now in a very perilous ſituation; and, had not full proof been found, certain and inevitable deſtruction hung over him. The king's impatience, however, and jealouſy, prompted him to ſearch the matter to the bottom. The privy-ſeal was ordered to examine Laſcelles, who perſiſted in the information he had given, and ſtill appealed to his ſiſter's teſtimony. That nobleman next made a journey under pretence of hunting, and went to Suſſex, where the woman at that time reſided: he found her both conſtant in her former intelligence, and particular as to the facts; and the whole bore but too much the face of probability. Mannoc and Derham, who were arreſted at the ſame time, and examined by the chancellor, made the queen's guilt entirely certain by their confeſſion; and diſcovered other particulars, which redounded ſtill more to her diſhonour. Three maids of the family were admitted into her ſecrets, and ſome of them had even paſſed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All the examinations were laid before the king, who was ſo deeply affected that he remained a long time ſpeechleſs, and at laſt burſt into tears. He found, to his ſurpriſe, that his great ſkill in diſtinguiſhing a true

maid, of which he boaſted in the caſe of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in that of his preſent conſort. The queen, being next queſtioned, denied her guilt; but, when informed that a full diſcovery was made, ſhe confeſſed that ſhe had been criminal before marriage, and only inſiſted that ſhe had never been falſe to the king's bed. But, as there was evidence that one Colepepper had paſſed the night with her alone ſince her marriage, and as it appeared that ſhe had taken Derham, her old paramour, into her ſervice, ſhe ſeemed to deſerve little credit in this aſſeveration; and the king, beſides, was not of a humour to make any difference between theſe degrees of guilt.

A PARLIAMENT. 1542.

HENRY found that he could not by any means ſo fully or expeditiouſly ſatiate his vengeance on all theſe criminals as by aſſembling a parliament, the uſual inſtrument of his tyranny The two houſes, having received the queen's confeſſion, made an addreſs to the king. They entreated him not to be vexed with this untoward accident, to which all men were ſubject; but to conſider the frailty of human nature, and the mutability of human affairs; and from theſe views to derive a ſubject of conſolation. They deſired leave to paſs a bill of attainder againſt the queen and her accomplices; and they begged him to give his aſſent to this bill, not in perſon, which would renew his vexation, and might endanger his health, but by commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe. And, as there was a law in force making it treaſon to ſpeak ill of the queen as well as of the king they craved his royal pardon if any of them ſhould, on the preſent occaſion, have tranſgreſſed any part of the ſtatute.

Having obtained a gracious anſwer to theſe requeſts, the parliament proceeded to vote a bill of attainder for treaſon againſt

the queen and the viſcounteſs of Rocheford, who had conducted her ſecret amours; and in this bill Colepepper and Derham were alſo comprehended. At the ſame time they paſſed a bill of attainder for miſpriſion of treaſon againſt the old ducheſs of Norfolk, Catherine's grandmother; her uncle lord William Howard, and his lady, together with the counteſs of Bridgewater, and nine perſons more; becauſe they knew the queen's vicious courſe of life before her marriage, and had concealed it. This was an effect of Henry's uſual extravagance, to expect that parents ſhould ſo far forget the ties of natural affection, and the ſentiments of ſhame and decency, as to reveal to him the moſt ſecret diſorders of their family. He himſelf ſeems to have been ſenſible of the cruelty of this proceeding; for he pardoned the ducheſs of Norfolk, and moſt of the others condemned for miſpriſion of treaſon.

However, to ſecure himſelf for the future, as well as his ſucceſſors, from this fatal accident, he engaged the parliament to paſs a law ſomewhat extraordinary. It was enacted that any one who knew, or vehemently ſuſpected, any guilt in the queen, might within twenty days diſcloſe it to the king or council, without incurring the penalty of any former law againſt defaming the queen; but prohibiting every one at the ſame time from ſpreading the matter abroad, or even privately whiſpering it to others. It was alſo enacted that, if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon if ſhe did not previouſly reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this ſingular clauſe, and ſaid that the king muſt henceforth look out for a widow, for no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of the ſtatute.[n] After all theſe laws were paſſed the queen was beheaded on Tower-hill, together with lady Rocheford. They behaved in a manner ſuitable to their diſſolute life; and, as lady

Rocheford was known to be the chief inſtrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, ſhe died unpitied; and men were farther confirmed, by the diſcovery of this woman's guilt, in the favourable ſentiments which they had entertained of that unfortunate queen.

The king made no demand of any ſubſidy from this parliament; but he found means of enriching his exchequer from another quarter; he took farther ſteps towards the diſſolution of colleges, hoſpitals, and other foundations of that nature. The courtiers had been practiſing on the preſidents and governors to make a ſurrender of their revenues to the king; and they had been ſucceſsful with eight of them. But there was an obſtacle to their farther progreſs: it had been provided, by the local ſtatutes of moſt of theſe foundations, that no preſident, or any number of fellows, could conſent to ſuch a deed without the unanimous vote of all the fellows; and this vote was not eaſily obtained. All ſuch ſtatutes were annulled by parliament; and the revenues of theſe houſes were now expoſed to the rapacity of the king and his favourites.° The church had been ſo long their prey that nobody was ſurpriſed at any new inroads made upon her. From the regular Henry now proceeded to make devaſtations on the ſecular clergy. He extorted from many of the biſhops a ſurrender of chapter lands; and by this device he pillaged the ſees of Canterbury, York, and London, and enriched his greedy paraſites and flatterers with their ſpoils.

ECCLESIASTIC AFFAIRS.

THE clergy have been commonly ſo fortunate as to make a concern for their temporal intereſts go hand in hand with a jealouſy for orthodoxy; and both theſe paſſions be regarded by the people, ignorant and ſuperſtitious, as proofs of zeal for religion. But

the violent and headſtrong character of Henry now disjoined theſe objects. His rapacity was gratified by plundering the church, his bigotry and arrogance by perſecuting heretics. Though he engaged the parliament to mitigate the penalties of the ſix articles ſo far as regards the marriage of prieſts, which was now only ſubjected to a forfeiture of goods, chattels, and lands, during life, he was ſtill equally bent on maintaining a rigid purity in ſpeculative principles. He had appointed a commiſſion, conſiſting of the two archbiſhops and ſeveral biſhops of both provinces, together with a conſiderable number of doctors of divinity; and, by virtue of his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, he had given them in charge to chooſe a religion for his people. Before the commiſſioners had made any progreſs in this arduous undertaking, the parliament in 1541 had paſſed a law, by which they ratified all the tenets which theſe divines ſhould thereafter eſtabliſh with the king's conſent: and they were not aſhamed of thus expreſsly declaring that they took their religion upon truſt, and had no other rule, in ſpiritual as well as temporal concerns, than the arbitrary will of their maſter. There is only one clauſe of the ſtatute which may ſeem at firſt ſight to favour ſomewhat of the ſpirit of liberty; it was enacted that the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners ſhould eſtabliſh nothing repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of the realm. But in reality this proviſo was inſerted by the king, to ſerve his own purpoſes. By introducing a confuſion and contradiction into the laws, he became more maſter of every one's life and property. And, as the ancient independence of the church ſtill gave him jealouſy, he was well pleaſed, under cover of ſuch a clauſe, to introduce appeals from the ſpiritual to the civil courts. It was for a like reaſon that he would never promulgate a body of canon law; and he encouraged the judges on all occaſions to interpoſe in eccleſiaſtical cauſes, wherever they thought the law of royal prerogative concerned. A

happy innovation, though at firſt invented for arbitrary purpoſes!

The king, armed by the authority of parliament, or rather by their acknowledgment of that ſpiritual ſupremacy which he believed inherent in him, employed his commiſſioners to ſelect a ſyſtem of tenets for the aſſent and belief of the nation. A ſmall volume was ſoon after publiſhed, called 'The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man;' which was received by the convocation, and voted to be the ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the delicate points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, are there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers: the ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, were now increaſed to the number of ſeven, conformably to the ſentiments of the catholics. The king's caprice is diſcernible throughout the whole; and the book is in reality to be regarded as his compoſition: for Henry, while he made his opinion a rule for the nation, would tie his own hands by no canon or authority, not even by any which he himſelf had formerly eſtabliſhed.

The people had occaſion ſoon after to ſee a farther inſtance of the king's inconſtancy. He was not long ſatisfied with his 'Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man.' He ordered a new book to be compoſed, called 'The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man:' and, without aſking the aſſent of the convocation, he publiſhed, by his own authority and that of the parliament, this new model of orthodoxy. It differs from the Inſtitution:[P] but the king was no leſs poſitive in his new creed than he had been in the old; and he required the belief of the nation to veer about at his ſignal. In both theſe compoſitions he was particularly careful to inculcate the doctrine of paſſive obedience; and he was equally careful to retain the nation in the practice.

While the king was ſpreading his own books among the people, he ſeems to have been extremely perplexed, as were alſo the clergy, what courſe to take with the ſcriptures. A review had been made by the ſynod of the new tranſlation of the Bible; and Gardiner had propoſed that, inſtead of employing Engliſh expreſſions throughout, ſeveral Latin words ſhould ſtill be preſerved; becauſe they contained, as he pretended, ſuch peculiar energy and ſignificance, that they had no correſpondent terms in the vulgar tongue.[q] Among theſe were, 'eccleſia, pœnitentia, pontifex, contritus, holocauſta, ſacramentum, elementa, ceremonia, myſterium, preſbyter, ſacrificium, humilitas, ſatisfactio, peccatum, gratia, hoſtia, charitas, &c.' But, as this mixture would have appeared extremely barbarous, and was plainly calculated for no other purpoſe than to retain the people in their ancient ignorance, the propoſal was rejected. The knowledge of the people, however, at leaſt their diſputative turn, ſeemed to be an inconvenience ſtill more dangerous; and the king and parliament,[r] ſoon after the publication of the ſcriptures, retracted the conceſſion which they had formerly made; and prohibited all but gentlemen and merchants from peruſing them.[s] Even that liberty was not granted without an apparent heſitation, and a dread of the conſequences. Theſe perſons were allowed to read, 'ſo it be done quietly and with good order.' And the preamble to the act ſets forth, 'That many ſeditious and ignorant perſons had abuſed the liberty granted them of reading the Bible, and that great diverſity of opinion, animoſities, tumults, and ſchiſms, had been occaſioned by perverting the ſenſe of the ſcriptures.' It ſeemed very difficult to reconcile the king's model for uniformity with the permiſſion of free inquiry.

The maſs book alſo paſſed under the king's reviſal, and little alteration was as yet made in it; ſome doubtful or fictitious ſaints only were ſtruck out, and the name of the pope was eraſed.

This latter precaution was likewiſe uſed with regard to every new book that was printed, or even old book that was ſold. The word Pope was carefully omitted or blotted out;[t] as if that precaution could aboliſh the term from the language, or as if ſuch a perſecution of it did not rather imprint it more ſtrongly in the memory of the people.

The king took care about this time to clear the churches from another abuſe which had crept into them. Plays, interludes, and farces, were there often acted in deriſion of the former ſuperſtitions; and the reverence of the multitude for ancient principles and modes of worſhip was thereby gradually effaced.[u] We do not hear that the catholics attempted to retaliate, by employing this powerful engine againſt their adverſaries, or endeavoured by like arts to expoſe that fanatical ſpirit by which it appears the reformers were frequently actuated. Perhaps the people were not diſpoſed to reliſh a jeſt on that ſide; perhaps the greater ſimplicity, and the more ſpiritual abſtract worſhip, of the proteſtants gave leſs hold to ridicule, which is commonly founded on ſenſible repreſentations. It was therefore a very agreeable conceſſion, which the king made to the catholic party, to ſuppreſs entirely theſe religious comedies.

Thus Henry laboured inceſſantly, by arguments, creeds, and penal ſtatutes, to bring his ſubjects to an uniformity in their religious ſentiments: but, as he entered himſelf with the greateſt earneſtneſs into all thoſe ſcholaſtic diſputes, he encouraged the people, by his example, to apply themſelves to the ſtudy of theology; and it was in vain afterwards to expect, however preſent fear might reſtrain their tongues or pens, that they would cordially agree in any ſet of tenets or opinions preſcribed to them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HENRY VIII.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND....VICTORY AT SOLWAY....DEATH OF JAMES V ....TREATY WITH SCOTLAND....NEW RUPTURE....RUPTURE WITH FRANCE....A PARLIAMENT....AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND....A PARLIAMENT....CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE....A PARLIAMENT....PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND....PERSECUTIONS....EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF SURREY....ATTAINDER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK....DEATH OF THE KING....HIS CHARACTER....MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND. 1542.

HENRY, being determined to avenge himſelf on the king of Scots for ſlighting the advances which he had made him, would gladly have obtained a ſupply from parliament, in order to proſecute that enterpriſe; but, as he did not think it prudent to diſcover his intentions, that aſſembly, conformably to their frugal maxims, would underſtand no hints; and the king was diſappointed in his expectations. He continued, however, to make preparations for war; and, as ſoon as he thought himſelf in a condition to invade Scotland, he publiſhed a manifeſto, by which

he endeavoured to juſtify hoſtilities. He complained of James's breach of word in declining the promiſed interview, which was the real ground of the quarrel:[x] but, in order to give a more ſpecious colouring to the enterpriſe, he mentioned other injuries; namely, that his nephew had granted protection to ſome Engliſh rebels and fugitives, and had detained ſome territory, which Henry pretended belonged to England. He even revived the old claim to the vaſſalage of Scotland, and he ſummoned James to do homage to him as his liege lord and ſuperior. He employed the duke of Norfolk, whom he called the ſcourge of the Scots, to command in the war; and, though James ſent the biſhop of Aberdeen and ſir James Learmont of Darſay to appeaſe his uncle, he would hearken to no terms of accommodation. While Norfolk was aſſembling his army at Newcaſtle, ſir Robert Bowes, attended by ſir Ralph Sadler, ſir Ralph Evers, ſir Brian Latoun, and others, made an incurſion into Scotland, and advanced towards Jedburgh, with an intention of pillaging and deſtroying that town. The earl of Angus, and George Douglas his brother, who had been many years baniſhed their country, and had ſubſiſted by Henry's bounty, joined the Engliſh army in this incurſion; and the forces, commanded by Bowes, exceeded four thouſand men. James had not been negligent in his preparations for defence, and had poſted a conſiderable body, under the command of the earl of Huntley, for the protection of the borders. Lord Hume, at the head of his vaſſals, was haſtening to join Huntley when he met with the Engliſh army; and an action immediately enſued. During the engagement the forces under Huntley began to appear; and the Engliſh, afraid of being ſurrounded and overpowered, took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Evers, Latoun, and ſome other perſons of diſtinction, were taken priſoners. A few only of ſmall note fell in the ſkirmiſh.[y]

VICTORY AT SOLWAY.

THE duke of Norfolk, meanwhile, began to move from his camp at Newcaſtle; and, being attended by the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hertford, Rutland, with many others of the nobility, he advanced to the borders. His forces amounted to above twenty thouſand men; and it required the utmoſt efforts of Scotland to reſiſt ſuch a formidable armament. James had aſſembled his whole military force at Fala and Sautrey, and was ready to advance as ſoon as he ſhould be informed of Norfolk's invading his kingdom. The Engliſh paſſed the Tweed at Berwick, and marched along the banks of the river as far as Kelſo; but, hearing that James had collected near thirty thouſand men, they repaſſed the river at that village, and retreated into their own country.[z] The king of Scots, inflamed with a deſire of military glory, and of revenge on his invaders, gave the ſignal for purſuing them, and carrying the war into England. He was ſurpriſed to find that his nobility, who were in general diſaffected on account of the preference which he had given to the clergy, oppoſed this reſolution, and refuſed to attend him in his projected enterpriſe. Enraged at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, and threatened vengeance; but ſtill reſolved, with the forces which adhered to him, to make an impreſſion on the enemy. He ſent ten thouſand men to the weſtern borders, who entered England at Solway frith; and he himſelf followed them at a ſmall diſtance, ready to join them upon occaſion. Diſguſted, however, at the refractory diſpoſition of his nobles, he ſent a meſſage to the army, depriving lord Maxwel, their general, of his commiſſion, and conferring the command on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman, who was his favourite. The army was extremely diſguſted with this altera-

tion, and was ready to diſband; when a ſmall body of Engliſh appeared, not exceeding five hundred men, under the command of Dacres and Muſgrave. A panic ſeized the Scots, who immediately took to flight, and were purſued by the enemy. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action; but a great many were taken priſoners, and ſome of the principal nobility: among theſe the earls of Caſſilis and Glencairn; the lords Maxwel, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, Grey; who were all ſent to London and given in cuſtody to different noblemen.

DEATH OF JAMES THE FIFTH.

The king of Scots, hearing of this diſaſter, was aſtoniſhed; and being naturally of a melancholic diſpoſition, as well as endowed with a high ſpirit, he loſt all command of his temper on this diſmal occaſion. Rage againſt his nobility, who he believed had betrayed him; ſhame for a defeat by ſuch unequal numbers; regret for the paſt, fear of the future; all theſe paſſions ſo wrought upon him, that he would admit of no conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. His body was waſted by ſympathy with his anxious mind; and even his life began to be thought in danger. He had no iſſue living; and, hearing that his queen was ſafely delivered, he aſked whether ſhe had brought him a male or a female child? Being told the latter, he turned himſelf in his bed: 'The crown came with a woman,' ſaid he 'and it will go with one: many miſeries await this poor kingdom; Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms or by marriage.' A few days after he expired, in the flower of his age; a prince of conſiderable virtues and talents; well fitted, by his vigilance and perſonal courage, for repreſſing thoſe diſorders to which his kingdom during that age was ſo much expoſed. He executed juſtice with impartiality and rigour; but, as he

ſupported the commonalty and the church againſt the rapine of the nobility, he eſcaped not the hatred of that order. The proteſtants alſo, whom he oppoſed, have endeavoured to throw many ſtains on his memory, but have not been able to fix any conſiderable imputation upon him.[a]

Henry was no ſooner informed of his victory, and of the death of his nephew, than he projected, as James had foreſeen, the ſcheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying his ſon Edward to the heireſs of that kingdom.[b] He called together the Scottiſh nobles who were his priſoners; and, after reproaching them in ſevere terms for their pretended breach of treaty, he began to ſoften his tone, and propoſed to them this expedient, by which he hoped thoſe diſorders, ſo prejudicial to both ſtates, would for the future be prevented. He offered to beſtow on them their liberty without ranſom; and only required of them engagements to favour the marriage of the prince of Wales with their young miſtreſs. They were eaſily prevailed on to give their aſſent to a propoſal which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo advantageous to both kingdoms; and, being conducted to Newcaſtle, they delivered to the duke of Norfolk hoſtages for their return, in caſe the intended nuptials were not completed; and they thence proceeded to Scotland, where they found affairs in ſome confuſion.

The pope, obſerving his authority in Scotland to be in danger from the ſpreading of the new opinions, had beſtowed on Beaton the primate the dignity of cardinal, in order to confer more influence upon him; and that prelate had long been regarded as prime miniſter to James, and as the head of that party which defended the ancient privileges and property of the eccleſiaſtics. Upon the death of his maſter this man, apprehenſive of the conſequences both to his party and to himſelf, endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of power; and for that purpoſe he is accuſed of

executing a deed which required a high degree of temerity. He forged, it is ſaid, a will for the king, appointing himſelf, and three noblemen more, regents of the kingdom during the minority of the infant princeſs:[c] at leaſt (for hiſtorians are not well agreed in the circumſtances of the fact) he had read to James a paper of that import, to which that monarch, during the delirium which preceded his death, had given an imperfect aſſent and approbation.[d] By virtue of this will Beaton had put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the government; and, having united his intereſts with thoſe of the queen dowager, he obtained the conſent of the convention of ſtates, and excluded the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

TREATY WITH SCOTLAND. 1543.

JAMES earl of Arran, of the name of Hamilton, was next heir to the crown by his grandmother, daughter of James III; and on that account ſeemed beſt entitled to poſſeſs that high office into which the cardinal had intruded himſelf. The proſpect alſo of his ſucceſſion after a princeſs, who was in ſuch tender infancy, procured him many partiſans; and, though his character indicated little ſpirit, activity, or ambition, a propenſity which he had diſcovered for the new opinions, had attached to him all the zealous promoters of thoſe innovations. By means of theſe adherents, joined to the vaſſals of his own family, he had been able to make oppoſition to the cardinal's adminiſtration; and the ſuſpicion of Beaton's forgery, with the acceſſion of the noblemen who had been priſoners in England, aſſiſted too by ſome money ſent from London, was able to turn the balance in his favour. The earl of Angus and his brother, having taken the preſent opportunity of returning into their native country, oppoſed the cardinal with all the credit of that powerful family;

and the majority of the convention had now embraced oppoſite intereſts to thoſe which formerly prevailed. Arran was declared governor; the cardinal was committed to cuſtody under the care of lord Seton; and a negociation was commenced with ſir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, for the marriage of the infant queen with the prince of Wales. The following conditions were quickly agreed on; that the queen ſhould remain in Scotland till ſhe ſhould be ten years of age; that ſhe ſhould then be ſent to England to be educated; that ſix Scottiſh noblemen ſhould immediately be delivered as hoſtages to Henry; and that the kingdom, notwithſtanding its union with England, ſhould ſtill retain its laws and privileges.[e] By means of theſe equitable conditions the war between the nations, which had threatened Scotland with ſuch diſmal calamities, ſeemed to be fully compoſed, and to be changed into perpetual concord and amity.

But the cardinal primate, having prevailed on Seton to reſtore him to his liberty, was able, by his intrigues, to confound all theſe meaſures, which appeared ſo well concerted. He aſſembled the moſt conſiderable eccleſiaſtics; and, having repreſented to them the imminent danger to which their revenues and privileges were expoſed, he perſuaded them to collect privately from the clergy a large ſum of money, by which, if intruſted to his management, he engaged to overturn the ſchemes of their enemies.[f] Beſides the partiſans whom he acquired by pecuniary motives, he rouſed up the zeal of thoſe who were attached to the catholic worſhip; and he repreſented the union with England as the ſure forerunner of ruin to the church and to the ancient religion. The national antipathy of the Scots to their ſouthern neighbours was alſo an infallible engine by which the cardinal wrought upon the people; and, though the terror of Henry's arms, and their own inability to make reſiſtance, had procured a temporary aſſent to the alliance and marriage pro-

poſed, the ſettled habits of the nation produced an extreme averſion to thoſe meaſures. The Engliſh ambaſſador and his retinue received many inſults from perſons whom the cardinal had inſtigated to commit thoſe violences, in hopes of bringing on a rupture; but Sadler prudently diſſembled the matter, and waited patiently till the day appointed for the delivery of the hoſtages. He then demanded of the regent the performance of that important article; but received for anſwer, that his authority was very precarious, that the nation had now taken a different impreſſion, and that it was not in his power to compel any of the nobility to deliver themſelves as hoſtages to the Engliſh. Sadler, foreſeeing the conſequence of this refuſal, ſent a ſummons to all thoſe who had been priſoners in England, and required them to fulfil the promiſe which they had given of returning into cuſtody. None of them ſhewed ſo much ſentiment of honour as to fulfil their engagements, except Gilbert Kennedy earl of Çaſſilis. Henry was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of this nobleman, that he not only received him graciouſly, but honoured him with preſents, gave him his liberty, and ſent him back to Scotland, with his two brothers, whom he had left as hoſtages.[g]

NEW RUPTURE.

This behaviour of the Scottiſh nobles, though it reflected diſhonour on the nation, was not diſagreeable to the cardinal, who foreſaw that all theſe perſons would now be deeply intereſted to maintain their enmity and oppoſition to England. And, as a war was ſoon expected with that kingdom, he found it neceſſary immediately to apply to France, and to crave the aſſiſtance of that ancient ally during the preſent diſtreſſes of the Scottiſh nation. Though the French king was fully ſenſible of his intereſt in ſupporting Scotland, a demand of aid could not have been made

on him at a more unſeaſonable juncture. His pretenſions on the Milaneſe, and his reſentment againſt Charles, had engaged him in a war with that potentate; and, having made great though fruitleſs efforts during the preceding campaign, he was the more diſabled at preſent from defending his own dominions, much more from granting any ſuccour to the Scots. Matthew Stuart earl of Lenox, a young nobleman of a great family, was at that time in the French court; and Francis, being informed that he was engaged in ancient and hereditary enmity with the Hamiltons, who had murdered his father, ſent him over to his native country, as a ſupport to the cardinal and the queen mother; and he promiſed that a ſupply of money, and, if neceſſary, even military ſuccours, ſhould ſoon be diſpatched after him. Arran the governor, ſeeing all theſe preparations againſt him, aſſembled his friends, and made an attempt to get the perſon of the infant queen into his cuſtody; but, being repulſed, he was obliged to come to an accommodation with his enemies, and to intruſt that precious charge to four neutral perſons, the heads of potent families, the Grahams, Areſkines, Lindſeys, and Levingſtones. The arrival of Lenox, in the midſt of theſe tranſactions, ſerved to render the victory of the French party over the Engliſh ſtill more indiſputable.[h]

RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.

THE oppoſition which Henry met with in Scotland from the French intrigues excited his reſentment, and farther confirmed the reſolution which he had already taken, of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with thoſe of the emperor. He had other grounds of complaint againſt the French king; which, though not of great importance, yet, being recent, were able to overbalance thoſe great injuries which he had formerly received

from Charles. He pretended that Francis had engaged to imitate his example in ſeparating himſelf entirely from the ſee of Rome, and that he had broken his promiſe in that particular. He was diſſatisfied that James his nephew had been allowed to marry, firſt Magdalene of France, then a princeſs of the houſe of Guiſe; and he conſidered theſe alliances as pledges which Francis gave of his intentions to ſupport the Scots againſt the power of England.[i] He had been informed of ſome railleries which the French king had thrown out againſt his conduct with regard to his wives. He was diſguſted that Francis, after ſo many obligations which he owed him, had ſacrificed him to the emperor; and, in the confidence of friendſhip, had raſhly revealed his ſecrets to that ſubtle and intereſted monarch. And he complained that regular payments were never made of the ſums due to him by France, and of the penſion which had been ſtipulated. Impelled by all theſe motives, he alienated himſelf from his ancient friend and confederate, and formed a league with the emperor, who earneſtly courted his alliance. This league, beſides ſtipulations for mutual defence, contained a plan for invading France; and the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army, each of twenty-five thouſand men; and to require that prince to pay Henry all the ſums which he owed him, and to conſign Boulogne, Montreuil, Terouenne, and Ardres, as a ſecurity for the regular payment of his penſion for the future: in caſe theſe conditions were rejected, the confederate princes agreed to challenge for Henry the crown of France, or, in default of it, the duchies of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Guienne; for Charles, the duchy of Burgundy, and ſome other territories.[k] That they might have a pretence for enforcing theſe claims, they ſent a meſſage to Francis, requiring him to renounce his alliance with ſultan Solyman, and to make reparation for all the prejudice which Chriſ-

tendom had ſuſtained from that unnatural confederacy. Upon the French king's refuſal war was declared againſt him by the allies. It may be proper to remark that the partiſans of France objected to Charles his alliance with the heretical king of England, as no leſs obnoxious than that which Francis had contracted with Solyman: and they obſerved that this league was a breach of the ſolemn promiſe which he had given to Clement VII, never to make peace or alliance with England.

A PARLIAMENT.

WHILE the treaty with the emperor was negociating the king ſummoned a new ſeſſion of parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies for his projected war with France. The parliament granted him a ſubſidy, to be paid in three years: it was levied in a peculiar manner; but exceeded not three ſhillings in the pound upon any individual.[l] The convocation gave the king ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be levied in three years. Greater ſums were always, even during the eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion, exacted from the clergy than from the laity; which made the emperor Charles ſay, when Henry diſſolved the monaſteries, 'and ſold their revenues, or beſtowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs.'[m]

The parliament alſo facilitated the execution of the former law, by which the king's proclamations were made equal to ſtatutes; they appointed that any nine counſellors ſhould form a legal court for puniſhing all diſobedience to proclamations. The total abolition of juries in criminal cauſes, as well as of all parliaments, ſeemed, if the king had ſo pleaſed, the neceſſary conſequence of this enormous law. He might iſſue a proclamation, enjoining the execution of any penal ſtatute, and afterwards try

the criminals, not for breach of the ſtatute, but for diſobedience to his proclamation. It is remarkable that lord Mountjoy entered a proteſt againſt this law; and it is equally remarkable that that proteſt is the only one entered againſt any public bill during this whole reign.[n]

It was enacted [o] this ſeſſion that any ſpiritual perſon, who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine contained in the king's book, 'The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man,' or contrary to any doctrine which he ſhould thereafter promulgate, was to be admitted on the firſt conviction to renounce his error; on the ſecond he was required to carry a faggot; which if he refuſed to do, or fell into a third offence, he was to be burnt. But the laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their goods and chattels, and be liable to perpetual impriſonment. Indictments muſt be laid within a year after the offence, and the priſoner was allowed to bring witneſſes for his exculpation. Theſe penalties were lighter than thoſe which were formerly impoſed on a denial of the real preſence: it was, however, ſubjoined in this ſtatute, that the act of the ſix articles was ſtill in force. But, in order to make the king more entirely maſter of his people, it was enacted that he might hereafter at his pleaſure change this act, or any proviſion in it. By this clauſe both parties were retained in ſubjection: ſo far as regarded religion, the king was inveſted in the fulleſt manner with the ſole legiſlative authority in his kingdom; and all his ſubjects were, under the ſevereſt penalties, expreſsly bound to receive implicitly whatever doctrine he ſhould pleaſe to recommend to them.

The reformers began to entertain hopes that this great power of the crown might ſtill be employed in their favour. The king married Catherine Par, widow of Nevil lord Latimer; a woman of virtue, and ſomewhat inclined to the new doctrine. By this marriage Henry confirmed what had formerly been foretold in

jeſt, that he would be obliged to eſpouſe a widow. The king's league with the emperor ſeemed a circumſtance no leſs favourable to the catholic party; and thus matters remained ſtill nearly balanced between the factions.

The advantages gained by this powerful confederacy between Henry and Charles were inconſiderable during the preſent year. The campaign was opened with a victory gained by the duke of Cleves, Francis's ally, over the forces of the emperor.[p] Francis in perſon took the field early, and made himſelf maſter, without reſiſtance, of the whole duchy of Luxembourg: he afterwards took Landrecy, and added ſome fortifications to it. Charles, having at laſt aſſembled a powerful army, appeared in the Low Countries; and, after taking almoſt every fortreſs in the duchy of Cleves, he reduced the duke to accept of the terms which he was pleaſed to preſcribe to him. Being then joined by a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh, he ſat down before Landrecy, and covered the ſiege with an army of above forty thouſand men. Francis advanced at the head of an army not much inferior; as if he intended to give the emperor battle, or oblige him to raiſe the ſiege: but, while theſe two rival monarchs were facing each other, and all men were in expectation of ſome great event, the French king found means of throwing ſuccour into Landrecy; and, having thus effected his purpoſe, he ſkilfully made a retreat. Charles, finding the ſeaſon far advanced, deſpaired of ſucceſs in his enterpriſe, and found it neceſſary to go into winter quarters.

AFFAIRS OF SCOTLAND.

The vanity of Henry was flattered by the figure which he made in the great tranſactions on the continent; but the intereſts of his kingdom were more deeply concerned in the event of affairs

in Scotland. Arran, the governor, was of ſo indolent and unambitious a character, that, had he not been ſtimulated by his friends and dependants, he never had aſpired to any ſhare in the adminiſtration; and, when he found himſelf overpowered by the party of the queen dowager, the cardinal, and the earl of Lenox, he was glad to accept of any terms of accommodation, however diſhonourable. He even gave them a ſure pledge of his ſincerity, by renouncing the principles of the reformers, and reconciling himſelf to the Romiſh communion in the Franciſcan church at Stirling. By this weakneſs and levity he loſt his credit with the whole nation, and rendered the proteſtants, who were hitherto the chief ſupport of his power, his mortal enemies. The cardinal acquired an entire aſcendant in the kingdom; the queen dowager placed implicit confidence in him; the governor was obliged to yield to him in every pretenſion; Lenox alone was become an obſtacle to his meaſures. and reduced him to ſome difficulty.

The inveterate enmity which had taken place between the families of Lenox and Arran made the intereſts of theſe two noblemen entirely incompatible: and, as the cardinal and the French party, in order to engage Lenox the more in their cauſe, had flattered him with the hopes of ſucceeding to the crown after their infant ſovereign, this rivalſhip had tended ſtill farther to rouſe the animoſity of the Hamiltons. Lenox too had been encouraged to aſpire to the marriage of the queen dowager, which would have given him ſome pretenſions to the regency; and, as he was become aſſuming on account of the ſervices which he had rendered the party, the cardinal found that, ſince he muſt chooſe between the friendſhip of Lenox and that of Arran, the latter nobleman, who was more eaſily governed, and who was inveſted with preſent authority, was in every reſpect preferable. Lenox, finding that he was not likely to ſucceed in his preten-

ſions to the queen dowager, and that Arran, favoured by the cardinal, had acquired the aſcendancy, retired to Dunbarton, the governor of which was entirely at his devotion: he entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh court; and he ſummoned his vaſſals and partiſans to attend him. All thoſe who were inclined to the proteſtant religion, or were on any account diſcontented with the cardinal's adminiſtration, now regarded Lenox as the head of their party; and they readily made him a tender of their ſervices. In a little time he had collected an army of ten thouſand men, and he threatened his enemies with immediate deſtruction. The cardinal had no equal force to oppoſe to him; but, as he was a prudent man, he foreſaw that Lenox could not long ſubſiſt ſo great an army, and he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negociation with him. He ſeduced his followers by various artifices; he prevailed on the Douglaſſes to change party; he repreſented to the whole nation the danger of civil wars and commotions: and Lenox, obſerving the unequal conteſt in which he was engaged, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms, and to accept of an accommodation with the governor and the cardinal. Preſent peace was reſtored; but no confidence took place between the parties. Lenox, fortifying his caſtles, and putting himſelf in a poſture of defence, waited the arrival of Engliſh ſuccours, from whoſe aſſiſtance alone he expected to obtain the ſuperiority over his enemies.

A PARLIAMENT. 1544.

While the winter ſeaſon reſtrained Henry from military operations he ſummoned a new parliament; in which a law was paſſed, ſuch as he was pleaſed to dictate, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown. After declaring that the prince of Wales, or any of the king's male iſſue, were firſt and immediate heirs to the

crown, the parliament reſtored the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of ſucceſſion. This ſeemed a reaſonable piece of juſtice, and corrected what the king's former violence had thrown into confuſion; but it was impoſſible for Henry to do any thing, how laudable ſoever, without betraying, in ſome circumſtance, his uſual extravagance and caprice: though he opened the way for theſe two princeſſes to mount the throne, he would not allow the acts to be reverſed which had declared them illegitimate; he made the parliament confer on him a power of ſtill excluding them, if they refuſed to ſubmit to any conditions which he ſhould be pleaſed to impoſe; and he required them to enact that, in default of his own iſſue, he might diſpoſe of the crown as he pleaſed, by will or letters patent. He did not probably foreſee that, in proportion as he degraded the parliament, by rendering it the paſſive inſtrument of his variable and violent inclinations, he taught the people to regard all its acts as invalid, and thereby defeated even the purpoſes which he was ſo bent to attain.

An act paſſed, declaring that the king's uſual ſtyle ſhould be 'King of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and on earth the ſupreme head of the church of England and Ireland.' It ſeemed a palpable inconſiſtency to retain the title of Defender of the Faith, which the court of Rome had conferred on him for maintaining its cauſe againſt Luther, and yet ſubjoin his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy in oppoſition to the claims of that court.

An act alſo paſſed for the remiſſion of the debt which the king had lately contracted by a general loan, levied upon the people. It will eaſily be believed that, after the former act of this kind, the loan was not entirely voluntary.[q] But there was a peculiar circumſtance attending the preſent ſtatute, which none but Henry would have thought of; namely, that thoſe who had

already gotten payment, either in whole or in part, ſhould refund the money to the exchequer.

The oaths, which Henry impoſed for the ſecurity of his eccleſiaſtical model, were not more reaſonable than his other meaſures. All his ſubjects of any diſtinction had already been obliged to renounce the pope's ſupremacy; but, as the clauſes to which they ſwore had not been deemed entirely ſatisfactory, another oath was impoſed; and it was added, that all thoſe who had taken the former oaths ſhould be underſtood to have taken the new one.[r] A ſtrange ſuppoſition! to repreſent men as bound by an oath which they had never taken.

The moſt commendable law, to which the parliament gave their ſanction, was that by which they mitigated the law of the ſix articles, and enacted that no perſon ſhould be put to his trial upon an accuſation concerning any of the offences compriſed in that ſanguinary ſtatute, except on the oath of twelve perſons before commiſſioners authorized for the purpoſe; and that no perſon ſhould be arreſted or committed to ward for any ſuch offence before he was indicted. Any preacher, accuſed of ſpeaking in his ſermon contrary to theſe articles, muſt be indicted within forty days.

The king always experienced the limits of his authority whenever he demanded ſubſidies, however moderate, from the parliament; and therefore, not to hazard a refuſal, he made no mention this ſeaſon of a ſupply: but, as his wars both in France and Scotland, as well as his uſual prodigality, had involved him in great expenſe, he had recourſe to other methods of filling his exchequer. Notwithſtanding the former abolition of his debts, he yet required new loans from his ſubjects; and he enhanced gold from forty-five to forty-eight ſhillings an ounce, and ſilver from three ſhillings and nine pence to four ſhillings. His pretence for this innovation was to prevent the money from being

exported; as if that expedient could anywiſe ſerve the purpoſe He even coined ſome baſe money, and ordered it to be curren by proclamation. He named commiſſioners for levying a be nevolence, and he extorted about ſeventy thouſand pounds b this expedient. Read, alderman of London,[s] a man ſomewha advanced in years, having refuſed to contribute, or not comin up to the expectation of the commiſſioners, was enrolled as foot ſoldier in the Scottiſh wars, and was there taken priſonei Roach, who had been equally refractory, was thrown into pri ſon, and obtained not his liberty but by paying a large compo ſition.[t] Theſe powers of the prerogative (which at that tim paſſed unqueſtioned), the compelling of any man to ſerve in an office, and the impriſoning of any man during pleaſure, not t mention the practice of extorting loans, rendered the ſovereig in a manner abſolute maſter of the perſon and property of ever individual.

Early this year the king ſent a fleet and an army to invad Scotland. The fleet conſiſted of near two hundred veſſels, an carried on board ten thouſand men. Dudley lord Liſle com manded the ſea forces, the earl of Hertford the land. The troop were diſembarked near Leith; and, after diſperſing a ſmall bod which oppoſed them, they took that town without reſiſtance and then marched to Edinburgh. The gates were ſoon beate down (for little or no reſiſtance was made); and the Engliſh fir pillaged, and then ſet fire to, the city. The regent and cardina were not prepared to oppoſe ſo great a force, and they fled t Stirling. Hertford marched caſtward; and, being joined by new body under Evers, warden of the eaſt marches, he laid waſt the whole country, burned and deſtroyed Haddington and Dun bar, then retreated into England, having loſt only forty men i the whole expedition. The earl of Arran collected ſome forces but, finding that the Engliſh were already departed, he turnec

them againſt Lenox, who was juſtly ſuſpected of a correſpondence with the enemy. That nobleman, after making ſome reſiſtance, was obliged to fly into England, where Henry ſettled a penſion on him, and even gave him his niece, lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage. In return, Lenox ſtipulated conditions by which, had he been able to execute them, he muſt have reduced his country to total ſervitude.[u]

Henry's policy was blamed in this ſudden and violent incurſion, by which he inflamed the paſſions of the Scots without ſubduing their ſpirit; and it was commonly ſaid that he did too much if he intended to ſolicit an alliance, and too little if he meant a conqueſt.[x] But the reaſon of his recalling the troops ſo ſoon was his eagerneſs to carry on a projected enterpriſe againſt France, in which he intended to employ the whole force of his kingdom. He had concerted a plan with the emperor, which threatened the total ruin of that monarchy, and muſt, as a neceſſary conſequence, have involved the ruin of England. Theſe two princes had agreed to invade France with forces amounting to above a hundred thouſand men: Henry engaged to ſet out from Calais, Charles from the Low Countries: they were to enter on no ſiege; but, leaving all the frontier towns behind them, to march directly to Paris, where they were to join their forces, and thence to proceed to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. Francis could not oppoſe to theſe formidable preparations much above forty thouſand men.

CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE.

HENRY, having appointed the queen regent during his abſence, paſſed over to Calais with thirty thouſand men, accompanied by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, Fitzalan earl of Arundel, Vere earl of Oxford, the earl of Surrey, Paulet lord St. John, lord

Ferrers of Chartley, lord Mountjoy, lord Grey of Wilton, ſir Anthony Brown, ſir Francis Bryan, and the moſt flouriſhing nobility and gentry of his kingdom. The Engliſh army was ſoon joined by the count de Buren, admiral of Flanders, with ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe; and the whole compoſed an army which nothing on that frontier was able to reſiſt. The chief force of the French armies was drawn to the ſide of Champagne, in order to oppoſe the Imperialiſts.

The emperor, with an army of near ſixty thouſand men, had taken the field much earlier than Henry; and, not to loſe time while he waited for the arrival of his confederate, he ſat down before Luxembourg, which was ſurrendered to him: he thence proceeded to Commercy on the Meuſe, which he took: Ligny met with the ſame fate: he next laid ſiege to St. Diſier on the Marne, which, though a weak place, made a brave reſiſtance under the count of Sancerre the governor, and the ſiege was protracted beyond expectation.

The emperor was employed before this town at the time the Engliſh forces were aſſembled in Picardy. Henry, either tempted by the defenceleſs condition of the French frontier, or thinking that the emperor had firſt broken his engagement by forming ſieges, or perhaps foreſeeing at laſt the dangerous conſequences of entirely ſubduing the French power, inſtead of marching forward to Paris, ſat down before Montreuil and Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk commanded the army before Montreuil, the king himſelf that before Boulogne. Vervin was governor of the latter place, and under him Philip Corſe, a brave old ſoldier, who encouraged the garriſon to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity againſt the Engliſh. He was killed during the courſe of the ſiege, and the town was immediately ſurrendered to Henry by the cowardice of Vervin, who was afterwards beheaded for this diſhonourable capitulation.

During the courſe of this ſiege Charles had taken St. Diſier; and, finding the ſeaſon much advanced, he began to hearken to a treaty of peace with France, ſince all his ſchemes for ſubduing that kingdom were likely to prove abortive. In order to have a pretence for deſerting his ally, he ſent a meſſenger to the Engliſh camp, requiring Henry immediately to fulfil his engagements, and to meet him with his army before Paris. Henry replied that he was too far engaged in the ſiege of Boulogne to raiſe it with honour, and that the emperor himſelf had firſt broken the concert by beſieging St. Diſier. This anſwer ſerved Charles as a ſufficient reaſon for concluding a peace with Francis at Crepy, where no mention was made of England. He ſtipulated to give Flanders as a dowry to his daughter, whom he agreed to marry to the duke of Orleans, Francis's ſecond ſon; and Francis, in return, withdrew his troops from Piedmont and Savoy, and renounced all claim to Milan, Naples, and other territories in Italy. This peace, ſo advantageous to Francis, was procured partly by the deciſive victory obtained in the beginning of the campaign by the count of Anguyen over the Imperialiſts at Ceriſolles in Piedmont, partly by the emperor's great deſire to turn his arms againſt the proteſtant princes in Germany. Charles ordered his troops to ſeparate from the Engliſh in Picardy; and Henry, finding himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, returned into England. This campaign ſerved to the populace as matter of great triumph; but all men of ſenſe concluded that the king had, as in all his former military enterpriſes, made, at a great expenſe, an acquiſition which was of no importance.

The war with Scotland, meanwhile, was conducted feebly, and with various ſucceſs. Sir Ralph Evers, now lord Evers, and ſir Bryan Latoun, made an inroad into that kingdom; and, having laid waſte the counties of Tiviotdale and the Merſe, they proceeded to the abbey of Coldingham, which they took poſſeſſion

of, and fortified. The governor aſſembled an army of eight thouſand men, in order to diſlodge them from this poſt; but he had no ſooner opened his batteries before the place than a ſudden panic ſeized him; he left the army, and fled to Dunbar. He complained of the mutiny of his troops, and pretended apprehenſions leſt they ſhould deliver him into the hands of the Engliſh; but his own unwarlike ſpirit was generally believed to have been the motive of this diſhonourable flight. The Scottiſh army, upon the departure of their general, fell into confuſion; and, had not Angus, with a few of his retainers, brought off the cannon, and protected their rear, the Engliſh might have gained great advantages over them. Evers, elated with this ſucceſs, boaſted to Henry that he had conquered all Scotland to the Forth; and he claimed a reward for this important ſervice. The duke of Norfolk, who knew with what difficulty ſuch acquiſitions would be maintained againſt a warlike enemy, adviſed the king to grant him, as his reward, the conqueſts of which he boaſted ſo highly. The next inroad made by the Engliſh ſhewed the vanity of Evers's hopes. This general led about five thouſand men into Tiviotdale, and was employed in ravaging that country; when intelligence was brought him that ſome Scottiſh forces appeared near the abbey of Melroſs. Angus had rouſed the governor to more activity; and, a proclamation being iſſued for aſſembling the troops of the neighbouring counties, a conſiderable body had repaired thither to oppoſe the enemy. Norman Leſly, ſon of the earl of Rothes, had alſo joined the army with ſome volunteers from Fife; and he inſpired courage into the whole, as well by this acceſſion of force as by his perſonal bravery and intrepidity. In order to bring their troops to the neceſſity of a ſteady defence, the Scottiſh leaders ordered all their cavalry to diſmount; and they reſolved to wait, on ſome high grounds near Ancram, the aſſault of the Engliſh. The

Engliſh, whoſe paſt ſucceſſes had taught them too much to deſpiſe the enemy, thought, when they ſaw the Scottiſh horſes led off the field, that the whole army was retiring; and they haſtened to attack them. The Scots received them in good order; and, being favoured by the advantage of the ground as well as by the ſurpriſe of the Engliſh, who expected no reſiſtance, they ſoon put them to flight, and purſued them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Evers and Latoun were both killed, and above a thouſand men were made priſoners. In order to ſupport the Scots in this war, Francis ſome time after ſent over a body of auxiliaries, to the number of three thouſand five hundred men, under the command of Montgomery lord of Lorges.[y] Reinforced by theſe ſuccours, the governor aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men at Haddington, and marched thence to ravage the eaſt borders of England. He laid all waſte wherever he came; and, having met with no conſiderable reſiſtance, he retired into his own country, and diſbanded his army. The earl of Hertford, in revenge, committed ravages on the middle and weſt marches; and the war on both ſides was ſignalized rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy than by any conſiderable advantage gained by either party.

The war, likewiſe, between France and England was not diſtinguiſhed this year by any memorable event. Francis had equipped a fleet of above two hundred ſail, beſides gallies; and, having embarked ſome land forces on board, he ſent them to make a deſcent in England.[z] They ſailed to the Iſle of Wight, where they found the Engliſh fleet lying at anchor in St. Helen's. It conſiſted not of above a hundred ſail; and the admiral thought it moſt adviſable to remain in that road, in hopes of drawing the French into the narrow channels and the rocks, which were unknown to them. The two fleets cannonaded each other for two days; and, except the ſinking of the Mary Roſe, one of

the largeſt ſhips of the Engliſh fleet, the damage on both ſides was inconſiderable.

Francis's chief intention, in equipping ſo great a fleet, was to prevent the Engliſh from throwing ſuccours into Boulogne, which he reſolved to beſiege; and for that purpoſe he ordered a fort to be built, by which he intended to block up the harbour. After a conſiderable loſs of time and money, the fort was found ſo ill conſtructed that he was obliged to abandon it; and, though he had aſſembled on that frontier an army of near forty thouſand men, he was not able to effect any conſiderable enterpriſe. Henry, in order to defend his poſſeſſions in France, had levied fourteen thouſand Germans; who, having marched to Fleurines in the biſhopric of Liege, found that they could advance no farther. The emperor would not allow them a paſſage through his dominions: they received intelligence of a ſuperior army on the ſide of France ready to intercept them: want of occupation and of pay ſoon produced a mutiny among them: and, having ſeized the Engliſh commiſſaries as a ſecurity for arrears, they retreated into their own country. There ſeems to have been ſome want of foreſight in this expenſive armament.

A PARLIAMENT. 1545.

The great expenſe of theſe two wars maintained by Henry obliged him to ſummon a new parliament. The commons granted him a ſubſidy, payable in two years, of two ſhillings a pound on land:[a] the ſpirituality voted him ſix ſhillings a pound. But the parliament, apprehenſive leſt more demands ſhould be made upon them, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by a very extraordinary liberality of other people's property; by one vote they beſtowed on the king all the revenues of the univerſities, as well as of the chauntries, free chapels,[b] and hoſpitals. Henry

was pleaſed with this conceſſion, as it increaſed his power; but he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he ſoon took care to inform the univerſities that he meant not to touch their revenues. Thus theſe ancient and celebrated eſtabliſhments owe their exiſtence to the generoſity of the king, not to the protection of this ſervile and proſtitute parliament.

The proſtitute ſpirit of the parliament farther appeared in the preamble of a ſtatute,[c] in which they recogniſe the king to have always been, by the word of God, ſupreme head of the church of England; and acknowledge that archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, have no manner of juriſdiction but by his royal mandate: to him alone, ſay they, and ſuch perſons as he ſhall appoint, full power and authority is given from above to hear and determine all manner of cauſes eccleſiaſtical, and to correct all manner of hereſies, errors, vices, and ſins, whatſoever. No mention is here made of the concurrence of a convocation, or even of a parliament. His proclamations are, in effect, acknowledged to have not only the force of law, but the authority of revelation; and by his royal power he might regulate the actions of men, control their words, and even direct their inward ſentiments and opinions.

The king made, in perſon, a ſpeech to the parliament on proroguing them; in which, after thanking them for their loving attachment to him, which, he ſaid, equalled what was ever paid by their anceſtors to any king of England, he complained of their diſſenſions, diſputes, and animoſities, in religion. He told them that the ſeveral pulpits were become a kind of batteries againſt each other; and that one preacher called another heretic and anabaptiſt, which was retaliated by the opprobrious appellations of papiſt and hypocrite: that he had permitted his people the uſe of the ſcriptures, not in order to furniſh them with materials for diſputing and railing, but that he might enable them

to inform their conſciences, and inſtruct their children and families: that it grieved his heart to find how that precious jewel was proſtituted, by being introduced into the converſation of every alehouſe and tavern, and employed as a pretence for decrying the ſpiritual and legal paſtors: and that he was ſorry to obſerve that the word of God, while it was the object of ſo much anxious ſpeculation, had very little influence on their practice; and that, though an imaginary knowledge ſo much abounded, charity was daily going to decay.[d] The king gave good advice; but his own example, by encouraging ſpeculation and diſpute, was ill fitted to promote that peaceable ſubmiſſion of opinion which he recommended.

PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND. 1546.

Henry employed in military preparations the money granted by parliament; and he ſent over the earl of Hertford and lord Liſle, the admiral, to Calais, with a body of nine thouſand men, two-thirds of which conſiſted of foreigners. Some ſkirmiſhes of ſmall moment enſued with the French; and no hopes of any conſiderable progreſs could be entertained by either party. Henry, whoſe animoſity againſt Francis was not violent, had given ſufficient vent to his humour by this ſhort war; and, finding that, from his great increaſe in corpulence and decay in ſtrength, he could not hope for much longer life, he was deſirous of ending a quarrel which might prove dangerous to his kingdom during a minority. Francis likewiſe, on his part, was not averſe to peace with England; becauſe, having lately loſt his ſon the duke of Orleans, he revived his ancient claim upon Milan, and foreſaw that hoſtilities muſt ſoon, on that account, break out between him and the emperor. Commiſſioners, therefore, having met at Campe, a ſmall place between Ardres and Guiſnes, the articles

were ſoon agreed on, and the peace ſigned by them. The chief conditions were, that Henry ſhould retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the former debt due by Francis ſhould be paid. This debt was ſettled at two millions of livres, beſides a claim of five hundred thouſand livres, which was afterwards to be adjuſted. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. Thus all that Henry obtained, by a war which coſt him above one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds [e] ſterling, was a bad and a chargeable ſecurity for a debt which was not a third of the value.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leiſure to give his attention to domeſtic affairs; particularly to the eſtabliſhment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was ſo intent. Though he allowed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the maſs in Latin; but he was at laſt prevailed on to permit that the litany, a conſiderable part of the ſervice, ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and, by this innovation, he excited anew the hopes of the reformers, who had been ſomewhat diſcouraged by the ſevere law of the ſix articles. One petition of the new litany was a prayer to ſave us 'from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and from all his deteſtable enormities.' Cranmer employed his credit to draw Henry into farther innovations; and he took advantage of Gardiner's abſence, who was ſent on an embaſſy to the emperor: but, Gardiner having written to the king that, if he carried his oppoſition againſt the catholic religion to greater extremities, Charles threatened to break off all commerce with him, the ſucceſs of Cranmer's projects was for ſome time retarded. Cranmer loſt this year the moſt ſincere and powerful friend that he poſſeſſed at court, Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk: the queen dowager of France, conſort to Suffolk, had died ſome years before. This nobleman is one inſtance that Henry was not alto-

gether incapable of a cordial and ſteady friendſhip; and Suffolk ſeems to have been worthy of the favour which, from his earlieſt youth, he had enjoyed with his maſter. The king was ſitting in council when informed of Suffolk's death; and he took the opportunity both to expreſs his own ſorrow for the loſs, and to celebrate the merits, of the deceaſed. He declared that, during the whole courſe of their friendſhip, his brother-in-law had never made one attempt to injure an adverſary, and had never whiſpered a word to the diſadvantage of any perſon. 'Is there any of you, my lords, who can ſay as much?' When the king ſubjoined theſe words, he looked round in all their faces, and ſaw that confuſion which the conſciouſneſs of ſecret guilt naturally threw upon them.[f]

Cranmer himſelf, when bereaved of this ſupport, was the more expoſed to thoſe cabals of the courtiers which the oppoſition in party and religion, joined to the uſual motives of intereſt, rendered ſo frequent among Henry's miniſters and counſellors. The catholics took hold of the king by his paſſion for orthodoxy; and they repreſented to him that, if his laudable zeal for enforcing the truth met with no better ſucceſs, it was altogether owing to the primate, whoſe example and encouragement were, in reality, the ſecret ſupports of hereſy. Henry, ſeeing the point at which they aimed, feigned a compliance, and deſired the council to make inquiry into Cranmer's conduct; promiſing that, if he were found guilty, he ſhould be committed to priſon, and brought to condign puniſhment. Every body now conſidered the primate as loſt; and his old friends from intereſted views, as well as the oppoſite party from animoſity, began to ſhew him marks of neglect and diſregard. He was obliged to ſtand ſeveral hours among the lacqueys, at the door of the council chamber, before he could be admitted; and, when he was at laſt called in, he was told that they had determined to ſend him to the tower.

Cranmer ſaid that he appealed to the king himſelf; and, finding his appeal diſregarded, he produced a ring, which Henry had given him as a pledge of favour and protection. The council were confounded; and, when they came before the king, he reproved them in the ſevereſt terms; and told them that he was well acquainted with Cranmer's merit, as well as with their malignity and envy: but he was determined to cruſh all their cabals, and to teach them by the ſevereſt diſcipline, ſince gentle methods were ineffectual, a more dutiful concurrence in promoting his ſervice. Norfolk, who was Cranmer's capital enemy, apologized for their conduct, and ſaid that their only intention was to ſet the primate's innocence in a full light, by bringing him to an open trial: and Henry obliged them all to embrace him as a ſign of their cordial reconciliation. The mild temper of Cranmer rendered this agreement more ſincere on his part than is uſual in ſuch forced compliances.[g]

PERSECUTIONS.

But, though Henry's favour for Cranmer rendered fruitleſs all accuſations againſt him, his pride and peeviſhneſs, irritated by his declining ſtate of health, impelled him to puniſh, with freſh ſeverity, all others who preſumed to entertain a different opinion from himſelf, particularly in the capital point of the real preſence. Anne Aſcue,[h] a young woman of merit as well as beauty, who had great connexions with the chief ladies at court, and with the queen herſelf, was accuſed of dogmatizing on that delicate article; and Henry, inſtead of ſhewing indulgence to the weakneſs of her ſex and age, was but the more provoked that a woman ſhould dare to oppoſe his theological ſentiments. She was prevailed on by Bonner's menaces to make a ſeeming recantation; but ſhe qualified it with ſome reſerves, which did not

ſatisfy that zealous prelate. She was thrown into priſon, and ſhe there employed herſelf in compoſing prayers and diſcourſes, by which ſhe fortified her reſolution to endure the utmoſt extremity rather than relinquiſh her religious principles. She even wrote to the king, and told him that, as to the Lord's ſupper, ſhe believed as much as Chriſt himſelf had ſaid of it, and as much of his divine doctrine as the catholic church had required: but, while ſhe could not be brought to acknowledge an aſſent to the king's explications, this declaration availed her nothing, and was rather regarded as a freſh inſult. The chancellor Wriotheſley, who had ſucceeded Audley, and who was much attached to the catholic party, was ſent to examine her with regard to her patrons at court, and the great ladies who were in correſpondence with her: but ſhe maintained a laudable fidelity to her friends, and would confeſs nothing. She was put to the torture in the moſt barbarous manner, and continued ſtill reſolute in preſerving ſecreſy. Some authors[1] add an extraordinary circumſtance: that the chancellor, who ſtood by, ordered the lieutenant of the tower to ſtretch the rack ſtill farther; but that officer refuſed compliance: the chancellor menaced him; but met with a new refuſal: upon which that magiſtrate, who was otherwiſe a perſon of merit, but intoxicated with religious zeal, put his own hand to the rack, and drew it ſo violently that he almoſt tore her body aſunder. Her conſtancy ſtill ſurpaſſed the barbarity of her perſecutors, and they found all their efforts to be baffled. She was then condemned to be burned alive; and, being ſo diſlocated by the rack that ſhe could not ſtand, ſhe was carried to the ſtake in a chair. Together with her were conducted Nicholas Belenian a prieſt, John Laſſels of the king's houſehold, and John Adams a taylor, who had been condemned for the ſame crime to the ſame puniſhment. They were all tied to the ſtake; and in that dreadful ſituation the chancellor ſent to inform them that their pardon

was ready drawn and ſigned, and ſhould inſtantly be given them, if they would merit it by a recantation. They only regarded this offer as a new ornament to their crown of martyrdom; and they ſaw with tranquillity the executioner kindle the flames which conſumed them. Wriotheſley did not conſider that this public and noted ſituation intereſted their honour the more to maintain a ſteady perſeverance.

Though the ſecreſy and fidelity of Anne Aſcue ſaved the queen from this peril, that princeſs ſoon after fell into a new danger, from which ſhe narrowly eſcaped. An ulcer had broken out in the king's leg, which, added to his extreme corpulency, and his bad habit of body, began both to threaten his life, and to render him even more than uſually peeviſh and paſſionate. The queen attended him with the moſt tender and dutiful care, and endeavoured, by every ſoothing art and compliance, to allay thoſe guſts of humour to which he was become ſo ſubject. His favourite topic of converſation was theology; and Catherine, whoſe good ſenſe enabled her to diſcourſe on any ſubject, was frequently engaged in the argument; and, being ſecretly inclined to the principles of the reformers, ſhe unwarily betrayed too much of her mind on theſe occaſions. Henry, highly provoked that ſhe ſhould preſume to differ from him, complained of her obſtinacy to Gardiner, who gladly laid hold of the opportunity to inflame the quarrel. He praiſed the king's anxious concern for preſerving the orthodoxy of his ſubjects; and repreſented that the more elevated the perſon was who was chaſtiſed, and the more near to his perſon, the greater terror would the example ſtrike into every one, and the more glorious would the ſacrifice appear to poſterity. The chancellor, being conſulted, was engaged by religious zeal to ſecond theſe topics; and Henry, hurried on by his own impetuous temper, and encouraged by his counſellors, went ſo far as to order articles of impeachment

to be drawn up againſt his conſort. Wriothefley executed his commands, and ſoon after brought the paper to him to be ſigned; for, as it was high treaſon to throw ſlander upon the queen, he might otherwiſe have been queſtioned for his temerity. By ſome means this important paper fell into the hands of one of the queen's friends, who immediately carried the intelligence to her. She was ſenſible of the extreme danger to which ſhe was expoſed; but did not deſpair of being able, by her prudence and addreſs, ſtill to elude the efforts of her enemies. She paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ſhe had reaſon to expect. He entered on the ſubject which was ſo familiar to him; and he ſeemed to challenge her to an argument in divinity. She gently declined the converſation, and remarked that ſuch profound ſpeculations were ill ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex. Women, ſhe ſaid, by their firſt creation, were made ſubject to men: the male was created after the image of God; the female after the image of the male: it belonged to the huſband to chooſe principles for his wife; the wife's duty was, in all caſes, to adopt implicitly the ſentiments of her huſband: and, as to herſelf, it was doubly her duty, being bleſt with a huſband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to chooſe principles for his own family, but for the moſt wiſe and knowing of every nation. 'Not ſo! By St. Mary,' replied the king, 'you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than receive inſtruction.' She meekly replied that ſhe was ſenſible how little ſhe was entitled to theſe praiſes; that, though ſhe uſually declined not any converſation, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe well knew that her conceptions could ſerve to no other purpoſe than to give him a little momentary amuſement; that ſhe found the converſation apt to languiſh when not revived by ſome oppoſition, and ſhe had ventured ſometimes to feign a contrariety of ſenti-

HENRY THE 8TH & CATHARINE PARR.

ments in order to give him the pleaſure of refuting her; and that ſhe alſo propoſed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him into topics, whence ſhe had obſerved, by frequent experience, that ſhe reaped profit and inſtruction. 'And is it ſo, ſweetheart?' replied the king, 'then are we perfect friends again.' He embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with aſſurances of his protection and kindneſs. Her enemies, who knew nothing of this ſudden change, prepared next day to convey her to the tower, purſuant to the king's warrant. Henry and Catherine were converſing amicably in the garden when the chancellor appeared with forty of the purſuivants. The king ſpoke to him at ſome diſtance from her, and ſeemed to expoſtulate with him in the ſevereſt manner. She even overheard the appellations of knave, fool, and beaſt, which he liberally beſtowed upon that magiſtrate; and then ordered him to depart his preſence. She afterwards interpoſed to mitigate his anger. He ſaid to her, 'Poor ſoul! you know not how ill entitled this man is to your good offices.' Thenceforth the queen, having narrowly eſcaped ſo great a danger, was careful not to offend Henry's humour by any contradiction; and Gardiner, whoſe malice had endeavoured to widen the breach, could never afterwards regain his favour and good opinion.[k]

But Henry's tyrannical diſpoſition, ſoured by ill health, burſt out ſoon after to the deſtruction of a man who poſſeſſed a much ſuperior rank to that of Gardiner. The duke of Norfolk and his father, during this whole reign, and even a part of the foregoing, had been regarded as the greateſt ſubjects in the kingdom, and had rendered conſiderable ſervice to the crown. The duke himſelf had in his youth acquired reputation by naval enterpriſes; he had much contributed to the victory gained over the Scots at Flouden; he had ſuppreſſed a dangerous rebellion in the north; and he had always done his part with honour in all

the expeditions againſt France. Fortune ſeemed to conſpire with his own induſtry in raiſing him to the greateſt elevation. From the favours heaped on him by the crown he had acquired an immenſe eſtate. The king had ſucceſſively been married to two of his nieces; and the king's natural ſon, the duke of Richmond, had married his daughter. Beſides his deſcent from the ancient family of the Moubrays, by which he was allied to the throne, he had eſpouſed a daughter of the duke of Buckingham, who was deſcended by a female from Edward III: and, as he was believed ſtill to adhere ſecretly to the ancient religion, he was regarded, both abroad and at home, as the head of the catholic party. But all theſe circumſtances, in proportion as they exalted the duke, provoked the jealouſy of Henry; and he foreſaw danger, during his ſon's minority, both to the public tranquillity and to the new eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem, from the attempts of ſo potent a ſubject. But nothing tended more to expoſe Norfolk to the king's diſpleaſure than the prejudices which Henry had entertained againſt the earl of Surrey, ſon of that nobleman.

Surrey was a young man of the moſt promiſing hopes, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by every accompliſhment which became a ſcholar, a courtier, and a ſoldier. He excelled in all the military exerciſes which were then in requeſt; he encouraged the fine arts by his patronage and example; he had made ſome ſucceſsful attempts in poetry; and, being ſmitten with the romantic gallantry of the age, he celebrated the praiſes of his miſtreſs, by his pen and his lance, in every maſque and tournament. His ſpirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality; and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reſerve which his ſituation required. He had been left governor of Boulogne when that town was taken by Henry; but, though his perſonal bravery was unqueſtioned, he had been unfortunate in ſome rencounters with the French. The king, ſome-

what diſpleaſed with his conduct, had ſent over Hertford to command in his place; and Surrey was ſo imprudent as to drop ſome menacing expreſſions againſt the miniſters, on account of this affront which was put upon him. And, as he had refuſed to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waved every other propoſal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of eſpouſing the lady Mary; and he was inſtantly determined to repreſs, by the moſt ſevere expedients, ſo dangerous an ambition.

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF SURREY. 1547.

ACTUATED by all theſe motives, and perhaps influenced by that old diſguſt with which the ill conduct of Catherine Howard had inſpired him againſt her whole family, he gave private orders to arreſt Norfolk and Surrey; and they were on the ſame day confined in the tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and, as to proofs, neither parliaments nor juries ſeem ever to have given the leaſt attention to them in any cauſe of the crown during this whole reign. He was accuſed of entertaining in his family ſome Italians who were ſuſpected to be ſpies; a ſervant of his had paid a viſit to cardinal Pole in Italy, whence he was ſuſpected of holding a correſpondence with that obnoxious prelate; he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his eſcutcheon, which made him be ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown, though both he and his anceſtors had openly, during the courſe of many years, maintained that practice, and the heralds had even juſtified it by their authority. Theſe were the crimes for which a jury, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence, condemned the earl of Surrey for high treaſon; and their ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him.

ATTAINDER OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

THE innocence of the duke of Norfolk was ſtill, if poſſible, more apparent than that of his ſon; and his ſervices to the crown had been greater. His ducheſs, with whom he lived on bad terms, had been ſo baſe as to carry intelligence to his enemies of all ſhe knew againſt him: Elizabeth Holland, a miſtreſs of his, had been equally ſubſervient to the deſigns of the court: yet, with all theſe advantages, his accuſers diſcovered no greater crime than his once ſaying that the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and the kingdom was likely to fall into diſorders through the diverſity of religious opinions. He wrote a pathetic letter to the king, pleading his paſt ſervices, and proteſting his innocence. Soon after he embraced a more proper expedient for appeaſing Henry, by making a ſubmiſſion and confeſſion, ſuch as his enemies required. But nothing could mollify the unrelenting temper of the king. He aſſembled a parliament, as the ſureſt and moſt expeditious inſtrument of his tyranny; and the houſe of peers, without examining the priſoner, without trial or evidence, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt him, and ſent it down to the commons. Cranmer, though engaged for many years in an oppoſite party to Norfolk, and though he had received many and great injuries from him, would have no hand in ſo unjuſt a proſecution; and he retired to his ſeat at Croydon.[1] The king was now approaching faſt towards his end; and, fearing leſt Norfolk ſhould eſcape him, he ſent a meſſage to the commons, by which he deſired them to haſten the bill, on pretence that Norfolk enjoyed the dignity of earl marſhal, and it was neceſſary to appoint another, who might officiate at the enſuing ceremony of inſtalling his ſon prince of Wales. The obſequious commons obeyed his directions, though founded on ſo frivolous a pretence;

and the king, having affixed the royal aſſent to the bill by commiſſioners, iſſued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of the twenty-ninth of January. But, news being carried to the tower that the king himſelf had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant; and it was not thought adviſeable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greateſt nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a ſentence ſo unjuſt and tyrannical.

DEATH OF THE KING.

The king's health had long been in a declining ſtate; but for ſeveral days all thoſe near him plainly ſaw his end approaching. He was become ſo froward, that no one durſt inform him of his condition; and, as ſome perſons during this reign had ſuffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death,[m] every one was afraid leſt, in the tranſports of his fury, he might on this pretence puniſh capitally the author of ſuch friendly intelligence. At laſt ſir Anthony Denny ventured to diſcloſe to him the fatal ſecret, and exhorted him to prepare for the fate which was awaiting him. He expreſſed his reſignation, and deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for: but before the prelate arrived he was ſpeechleſs, though he ſtill ſeemed to retain his ſenſes. Cranmer deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt: he ſqueezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of thirty-ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

The king had made his will near a month before his demiſe; in which he confirmed the deſtination of parliament, by leaving the crown firſt to prince Edward, then to the lady Mary, next to the lady Elizabeth: the two princeſſes he obliged, under the penalty of forfeiting their title to the crown, not to marry with-

out conſent of the council, which he appointed for the government of his minor ſon. After his own children, he ſettled the ſucceſſion on Frances Brandon marchioneſs of Dorſet, elder daughter of his ſiſter the French queen; then on Eleanor counteſs of Cumberland, the ſecond daughter. In paſſing over the poſterity of the queen of Scots, his elder ſiſter, he made uſe of the power obtained from parliament; but, as he ſubjoined that after the failure of the French queen's poſterity the crown ſhould deſcend to the next lawful heir, it afterwards became a queſtion whether theſe words could be applied to the Scottiſh line. It was thought that theſe princes were not the next heirs after the houſe of Suffolk, but before that houſe; and that Henry, by expreſſing himſelf in this manner, meant entirely to exclude them. The late injuries which he had received from the Scots had irritated him extremely againſt that nation; and he maintained to the laſt that character of violence and caprice by which his life had been ſo much diſtinguiſhed. Another circumſtance of his will may ſuggeſt the ſame reflection with regard to the ſtrange contrarieties of his temper and conduct: he left money for maſſes to be ſaid for delivering his ſoul from purgatory; and, though he deſtroyed all thoſe inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors and others for the benefit of their ſouls, and had even left the doctrine of purgatory doubtful in all the articles of faith which he promulgated during his later years, he was yet determined, when the hour of death was approaching, to take care at leaſt of his own future repoſe," and to adhere to the ſafer ſide of the queſtion.

HIS CHARACTER.

It is difficult to give a juſt ſummary of this prince's qualities: he was ſo different from himſelf in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert, his hiſtory is his beſt

character and deſcription. The abſolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumſtances which entitle him in ſome degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He poſſeſſed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exerciſing dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility: and, though theſe qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and ſolid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extenſive capacity; and every one dreaded a conteſt with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controverſy was determined either to ruin himſelf or his antagoniſt. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worſt qualities incident to human nature; violence, cruelty, profuſion, rapacity, injuſtice, obſtinacy, arrogance, bigotry, preſumption, caprice: but neither was he ſubject to all theſe vices in the moſt extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether deſtitute of virtues: he was ſincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at leaſt of a temporary friendſhip and attachment. In this reſpect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign ſerved to diſplay his faults in their full light. The treatment which he met with from the court of Rome provoked him to violence; the danger of a revolt from his ſuperſtitious ſubjects ſeemed to require the moſt extreme ſeverity. But it muſt, at the ſame time, be acknowledged that his ſituation tended to throw an additional luſtre on what was great and magnanimous in his character. The emulation between the emperor and the French king rendered his alliance, notwithſtanding his impolitic conduct, of great importance in Europe; the extenſive powers of his prerogative, and the ſubmiſſive, not to ſay ſlaviſh, diſpoſition of his parliaments, made it the more eaſy for him to aſſume and maintain

that entire dominion by which his reign is ſo much diſtinguiſhed in the Engliſh hiſtory.

It may ſeem a little extraordinary that, notwithſtanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary adminiſtration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his ſubjects, but never was the object of their hatred; he ſeems even in ſome degree to have poſſeſſed to the laſt their love and affection.[o] His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude; his magnificence and perſonal bravery rendered him illuſtrious in vulgar eyes; and it may be ſaid with truth that the Engliſh in that age were ſo thoroughly ſubdued, that, like eaſtern ſlaves, they were inclined to admire thoſe acts of violence and tyranny which were exerciſed over themſelves, and at their own expenſe.

With regard to foreign ſtates, Henry appears long to have ſupported an intercourſe of friendſhip with Francis more ſincere and diſintereſted than uſually takes place between neighbouring princes. Their common jealouſy of the emperor Charles, and ſome reſemblance in their characters (though the compariſon ſets the French monarch in a very ſuperior and advantageous light), ſerved as the cement of their mutual amity. Francis is ſaid to have been affected with the king's death, and to have expreſſed much regret for the loſs. His own health began to decline; he foretold that he ſhould not long ſurvive[p] his friend; and he died in about two months after him.

MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS.

THERE were ten parliaments ſummoned by Henry VIII, and twenty-three ſeſſions held. The whole time in which theſe parliaments ſat during this long reign exceeded not three years and a half. It amounted not to a twelvemonth during the firſt

twenty years. The innovations in religion obliged the king afterwards to call theſe aſſemblies more frequently: but, though theſe were the moſt important tranſactions that ever fell under the cognizance of parliament, their devoted ſubmiſſion to Henry's will, added to their earneſt deſire of ſoon returning to their country ſeats, produced a quick diſpatch of the bills, and made the ſeſſions of ſhort duration. All the king's caprices were indeed blindly complied with, and no regard was paid to the ſafety or liberty of the ſubject. Beſides the violent proſecution of whatever he was pleaſed to term hereſy, the laws of treaſon were multiplied beyond all former precedent. Even words to the diſparagement of the king, queen, or royal iſſue, were ſubjected to that penalty; and ſo little care was taken in framing theſe rigorous ſtatutes, that they contain obvious contradictions; inſomuch that, had they been ſtrictly executed, every man without exception muſt have fallen under the penalty of treaſon. By one ſtatute,[q] for inſtance, it was declared treaſon to aſſert the validity of the king's marriage, either with Catherine of Arragon or Anne Boleyn: by another[r] it was treaſon to ſay any thing to the diſparagement or ſlander of the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth; and to call them ſpurious would no doubt have been conſtrued to their ſlander. Nor would even a profound ſilence, with regard to theſe delicate points, be able to ſave a perſon from ſuch penalties. For, by the former ſtatute, whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to any point contained in that act was ſubjected to the pains of treaſon. The king, therefore, needed only to propoſe to any one a queſtion with regard to the legality of either of his firſt marriages: if the perſon were ſilent, he was a traitor by law; if he anſwered, either in the negative or in the affirmative, he was no leſs a traitor. So monſtrous were the inconſiſtencies which aroſe from the furious paſſions of the king, and the ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion of his parliaments. It is hard to ſay whe-

ther theſe contradictions were owing to Henry's precipitancy, or to a formed deſign of tyranny.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the ſtatutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce: nothing can better ſhew the genius of the age than ſuch a review of the laws.

The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of juſtice. While the catholic ſuperſtition ſubſiſted there was no poſſibility of puniſhing any crime in the clergy: the church would not permit the magiſtrate to try the offences of her members, and ſhe could not herſelf inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry reſtrained theſe pernicious immunities. The privilege of clergy was aboliſhed for the crime of petty treaſon, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a ſubdeacon.[s] But the former ſuperſtition not only protected crimes in the clergy; it exempted alſo the laity from puniſhment, by affording them ſhelter in the churches and ſanctuaries. The parliament abridged theſe privileges. It was firſt declared that no ſanctuaries were allowed in caſes of high treaſon;[t] next in thoſe of murder,[u] felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treaſon; and it limited them in other particulars.[x] The farther progreſs of the reformation removed all diſtinction between the clergy and other ſubjects, and alſo aboliſhed entirely the privileges of ſanctuaries. Theſe conſequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

The only expedient employed to ſupport the military ſpirit during this age, was the reviving and extending of ſome old laws enacted for the encouragement of archery, on which the defence of the kingdom was ſuppoſed much to depend. Every man was ordered to have a bow:[y] butts were ordered to be erected in every pariſh:[z] and every bowyer was ordered, for each bow of yew which he made, to make two of elm or wich

for the ſervice of the common people.[a] The uſe of croſs-bows and hand-guns was alſo prohibited.[b] What rendered the Engliſh bowmen more formidable was, that they carried halberts with them, by which they were enabled upon occaſion to engage in cloſe fight with the enemy.[c] Frequent muſters or arrays were alſo made of the people, even during time of peace; and all men of ſubſtance were obliged to have a complete ſuit of armour or harneſs, as it was called.[d] The martial ſpirit of the Engliſh, during that age, rendered this precaution, it was thought, ſufficient for the defence of the nation; and, as the king had then an abſolute power of commanding the ſervice of all his ſubjects, he could inſtantly, in caſe of danger, appoint new officers, and levy regiments, and collect an army as numerous as he pleaſed. When no faction or diviſion prevailed among the people, there was no foreign power that ever thought of invading England. The city of London alone could muſter fifteen thouſand men.[e] Diſcipline, however, was an advantage wanting to thoſe troops; though the garriſon of Calais was a nurſery of officers; and Tournay[f] firſt, Boulogne afterwards, ſerved to increaſe the number. Every one who ſerved abroad was allowed to alienate his lands without paying any fees.[g] A general permiſſion was granted to diſpoſe of land by will.[h] The parliament was ſo little jealous of its privileges (which indeed were at that time ſcarcely worth preſerving), that there is an inſtance of one Strode, who, becauſe he had introduced into the lower houſe ſome bill regarding tin, was ſeverely treated by the Stannery courts in Cornwall: heavy fines were impoſed on him; and, upon his refuſal to pay, he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and uſed in ſuch a manner as brought his life in danger: yet all the notice which the parliament took of this enormity, even in ſuch a paltry court, was to enact that no man could afterwards be queſtioned for his conduct in parliament.[i] This prohibition, however, muſt be ſup-

poſed to extend only to the inferior courts; for, as to the king, and privy-council, and ſtar-chamber, they were ſcarcely bound by any law.

There is a bill of tonnage and poundage, which ſhews what uncertain ideas the parliament had formed both of their own privileges and of the rights of the ſovereign.[k] This duty had been voted to every king ſince Henry IV, during the term of his own life only: yet Henry VIII had been allowed to levy it ſix years without any law; and, though there had been four parliaments aſſembled during that time, no attention had been given either to grant it to him regularly, or reſtrain him from levying it. At laſt the parliament reſolved to give him that ſupply; but even in this conceſſion they plainly ſhew themſelves at a loſs to determine whether they grant it, or whether he has a right of himſelf to levy it. They ſay that the impoſition was made to endure during the natural life of the late king, and no longer: they yet blame the merchants who had not paid it to the preſent king: they obſerve that the law for tonnage and poundage was expired, yet make no ſcruple to call that impoſition the king's due: they affirm that he had ſuſtained great and manifold loſſes by thoſe who had defrauded him of it; and, to provide a remedy, they vote him that ſupply during his life-time, and no longer. It is remarkable that, notwithſtanding this laſt clauſe, all his ſucceſſors, for more than a century, perſevered in the like irregular practice; if a practice may deſerve that epithet in which the whole nation acquieſced, and which gave no offence. But, when Charles I attempted to continue in the ſame courſe, which had now received the ſanction of many generations, ſo much were the opinions of men altered that a furious tempeſt was excited by it; and hiſtorians, partial or ignorant, ſtill repreſent this meaſure as a moſt violent and unprecedented enormity in that unhappy prince.

The king was allowed to make laws for Wales without conſent of parliament.[l] It was forgotten that, with regard both to Wales and England, the limitation was aboliſhed by the ſtatute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of laws.

The foreign commerce of England, during this age, was moſtly confined to the Netherlands. The inhabitants of the Low Countries bought the Engliſh commodities, and diſtributed them into other parts of Europe. Hence the mutual dependance of thoſe countries on each other, and the great loſs ſuſtained by both in caſe of a rupture. During all the variations of politics, the ſovereigns endeavoured to avoid coming to this extremity; and, though the king uſually bore a greater friendſhip to Francis, the nation always leaned towards the emperor.

In 1528 hoſtilities commenced between England and the Low Countries; and the inconvenience was ſoon felt on both ſides. While the Flemings were not allowed to purchaſe cloth in England, the Engliſh merchants could not buy it from the clothiers, and the clothiers were obliged to diſmiſs their workmen, who began to be tumultuous for want of bread. The cardinal, to appeaſe them, ſent for the merchants, and ordered them to buy cloth as uſual: they told him that they could not diſpoſe of it as uſual; and, notwithſtanding his menaces, he could get no other anſwer from them.[m] An agreement was at laſt made to continue the commerce between the ſtates, even during war.

It was not till the end of this reign that any ſallads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots, were produced in England. The little of theſe vegetables that was uſed was formerly imported from Holland and Flanders.[n] Queen Catherine, when ſhe wanted a ſallad, was obliged to diſpatch a meſſenger thither on purpoſe. The uſe of hops, and the planting of them, was introduced from Flanders about the beginning of this reign, or end of the preceding.

Foreign artificers, in general, much ſurpaſſed the Engliſh in dexterity, induſtry, and frugality: hence the violent animoſity which the latter, on many occaſions, expreſſed againſt any of the former who were ſettled in England. They had the aſſurance to complain that all their cuſtomers went to foreign tradeſmen; and, in the year 1517, being moved by the ſeditious ſermons of one Dr. Bele, and the intrigues of Lincoln a broker, they raiſed an inſurrection. The apprentices, and others of the poorer ſort, in London, began by breaking open the priſons, where ſome perſons were confined for inſulting foreigners. They next proceeded to the houſe of Meutas, a Frenchman, much hated by them; where they committed great diſorders, killed ſome of his ſervants, and plundered his goods. The mayor could not appeaſe them; nor ſir Thomas More, late under ſheriff, though *much* reſpected in the city. They alſo threatened cardinal Wolſey with ſome inſult; and he thought it neceſſary to fortify his houſe, and put himſelf on his guard. Tired at laſt with theſe diſorders, they diſperſed themſelves; and the earls of Shrewſbury and Surrey ſeized ſome of them. A proclamation was iſſued, that women ſhould not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men ſhould keep their wives in their houſes. Next day the duke of Norfolk came into the city at the head of thirteen hundred armed men, and made inquiry into the tumult. Bele and Lincoln, and ſeveral others, were ſent to the tower, and condemned for treaſon. Lincoln and thirteen more were executed. The other criminals, to the number of four hundred, were brought before the king, with ropes about their necks, fell on their knees, and cried for mercy. Henry knew at that time how to pardon; he diſmiſſed them without farther puniſhment.°

So great was the number of foreign artiſans in the city, that at leaſt fifteen thouſand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it by an order of council, when Henry became jealous

of their favour for queen Catherine.[p] Henry himſelf confeſſes, in an edict of the ſtar-chamber, printed among the ſtatutes, that the foreigners ſtarved the natives; and obliged them, from idleneſs,[q] to have recourſe to theft, murder, and other enormities. He alſo aſſerts that the vaſt multitude of foreigners raiſed the price of grain and bread.[r] And, to prevent an increaſe of the evil, all foreign artificers were prohibited from having above two foreigners in their houſe, either journeymen or apprentices. A like jealouſy aroſe againſt the foreign merchants; and, to appeaſe it, a law was enacted, obliging all denizens to pay the duties impoſed upon aliens.[s] The parliament had done better to have encouraged foreign merchants and artiſans to come over in greater numbers to England; which might have excited the emulation of the natives, and have improved their ſkill. The priſoners in the kingdom for debts and crimes are aſſerted, in an act of parliament, to be ſixty thouſand perſons [t] and above; which is ſcarcely credible. Harriſon aſſerts that ſeventy-two thouſand criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to two thouſand a year. He adds that, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not puniſhed capitally four hundred in a year: it appears that, in all England, there are not at preſent fifty executed for thoſe crimes. If theſe facts be juſt, there has been a great improvement in morals ſince the reign of Henry VIII. And this improvement has been chiefly owing to the increaſe of induſtry and of the arts, which have given maintenance, and, what is almoſt of equal importance, occupation, to the lower claſſes.

There is a remarkable clauſe in a ſtatute paſſed near the beginning of this reign,[u] by which we might be induced to believe that England was extremely decayed from the flouriſhing condition which it had attained in preceding times. It had been enacted, in the reign of Edward II, that no magiſtrate in town

or borough, who by his office ought to keep aſſize, ſhould, during the continuance of his magiſtracy, ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, any wine or victuals. This law ſeemed equitable, in order to prevent fraud or private views in fixing the aſſize: yet the law is repealed in this reign. The reaſon aſſigned is, that, 'ſince the making of that ſtatute and ordinance, many and the moſt part of all the cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, within the realm of England, are fallen in ruin and decay, and are not inhabited by merchants, and men of ſuch ſubſtance as at the time of making that ſtatute; for at this day the dwellers and inhabitants of the ſame cities and boroughs are commonly bakers, vintners, fiſhmongers, and other victuallers; and there remain few others to bear the offices.' Men have ſuch a propenſity to exalt paſt times above the preſent, that it ſeems dangerous to credit this reaſoning of the parliament, without farther evidence to ſupport it. So different are the views in which the ſame object appears, that ſome may be inclined to draw an oppoſite inference from this fact. A more regular police was eſtabliſhed in the reign of Henry VIII than in any former period, and a ſtricter adminiſtration of juſtice; an advantage which induced the men of landed property to leave the provincial towns, and to retire into the country. Cardinal Wolſey, in a ſpeech to parliament, repreſented it as a proof of the increaſe of riches that the cuſtoms had increaſed beyond what they were formerly.[x]

But, if there were really a decay of commerce, and induſtry, and populouſneſs, in England, the ſtatutes of this reign, except by aboliſhing monaſteries and retrenching holidays, circumſtances of conſiderable moment, were not in other reſpects well calculated to remedy the evil. The fixing of the wages of artificers was attempted:[y] luxury in apparel was prohibited by repeated ſtatutes,[z] and probably without effect. The chancellor and other miniſters were empowered to fix the price of poultry, cheeſe,

and butter.[a] A statute was even passed to fix the price of beef, pork, mutton, and veal.[b] Beef and pork were ordered to be sold at a halfpenny a pound; mutton and veal at a halfpenny half a farthing, money of that age. The preamble of the statute says, that these four species of butcher's meat were the food of the poorer sort. This act was afterwards repealed.[c]

The practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage and throwing the lands into pasturage, still continued;[d] as appears by the new laws which were, from time to time, enacted against that practice. The King was entitled to half the rents of the lands where any farm houses were allowed to fall to decay.[e] The unskilful husbandry was probably the cause why the proprietors found no profit in tillage. The number of sheep allowed to be kept in one flock was restrained to two thousand.[f] Sometimes, says the statute, one proprietor, or farmer, would keep a flock of twenty-four thousand. It is remarkable that the Parliament ascribes the increasing price of mutton to this increase of sheep: because, say they, the commodity being gotten into few hands, the price of it is raised at pleasure.[g] It is more probable that the effect proceeded from the daily increase of money; for it seems almost impossible that such a commodity could be engrossed.

In the year 1544 it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen pence of our present money.[h] This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper: a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age.

Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants;[i] one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet

the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546 a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent; the first legal interest known in England. Formerly all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal; and the prejudices still remain so strong, that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign.

This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolizing laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general.[k] There remain still too many traces of similar absurdities. In the subsequent reign the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by Act of Parliament, and every one was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation.[l]

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College; but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the King seized all the revenues, and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern.[m] But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the College, and only changed the name. The Cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek; and this novelty rent that university into violent factions which frequently came to blows. The students divided themselves into parties, which bore the names of Greeks and Trojans & sometimes fought with as great animosity as was formerly exercised

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